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ABSTRACT

Popular education is "political education for everyday people." It is "people coming together to discuss problems of injustice and inequality and learning how to confront these problems collectively." To be effective in movement building, this guide calls for people who can act in concert to fundamentally change the world. It offers some tools, ideas, and materials that can be used to build consciousness among people to become conscious of commonalities, uncover confusing myths, and provide a clear path to the future. Following an introduction that offers an overview of popular education, movement building, and Project South's activities, the guide is divided into the following five parts: (1) "Project South's Critical Issues Toolbox: Welfare in the Global Economy"; (2) "Criminal Injustice and the Growing Police State"; (3) "The Changing Face of Health Care"; (4) "The Small Working Groups"; and (5) "Appendices." Each part contains articles, essays, and resource information. (BT)

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Popular Education for Movement Building: A Resource Guide.
2nd Edition.

by Abbie Illenberger and Jason Wallach
Project South, Atlanta, GA.

SO 030 841

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Popular Education for Movement Building: A Resource Guide

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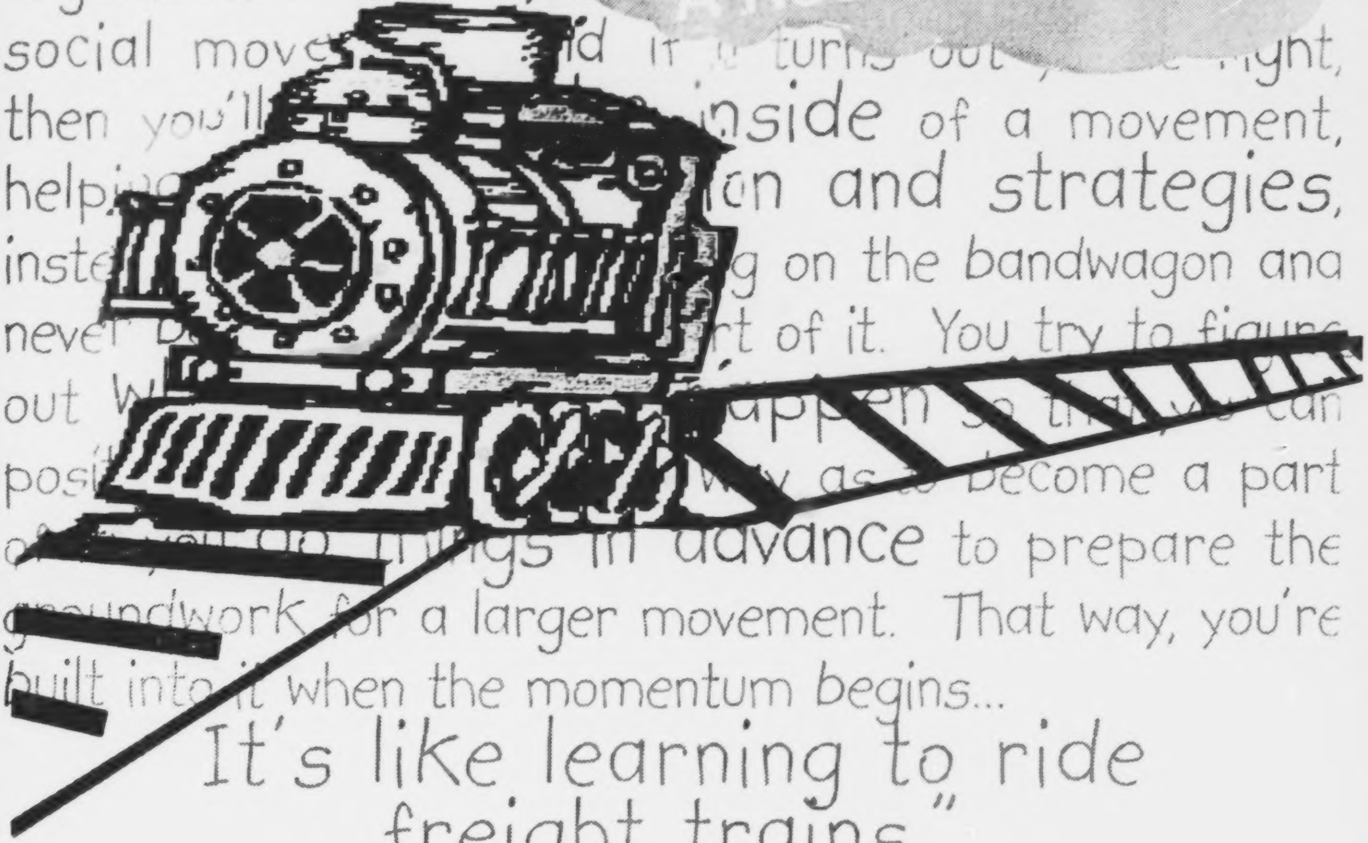

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Popular Economic and Political Education for Our Times

Project South: Institute for the Elimination of Poverty & Genocide

1998

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Acknowledgments

THIS BOOK IS BORNE OF MANY PEOPLE'S DESIRE TO LEARN AND BUILD THEIR OWN SKILLS TO EDUCATE PEOPLE IN THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC JUSTICE.

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We give thanks:

To our ancestors, who struggled and persevered so that we could be here today.

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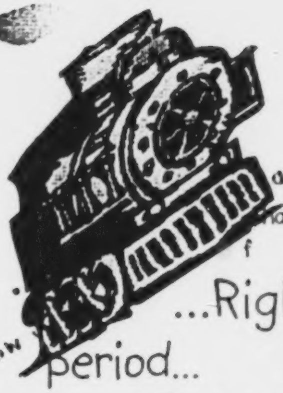

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Popular Education for Movement Building: A Resource Guide

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Project South is a community-based membership institute that develops and conducts popular political and economic education and action research for organizing and progressive social change. We organize and develop popular educators from grassroots and scholarly backgrounds, bringing them together on the basis of equality to join in the process of understanding and transforming our society.

Project South was founded in 1986 as a grassroots activist network to defend the electoral gains of the West Alabama Black Belt against the US Government's charges of alleged vote fraud. Following the founding of the Up & Out of Poverty Now! campaign in 1989, Project South began to develop a structure and program to serve as the education and research arm of the Southern Region of the campaign.

In 1992 we held the 500 Years of Resistance Conference - a response to the commemoration of the Columbus discovery myth. This led to the establishment of Project South's Board of Directors and two community-based education forums - the Atlanta Book Club and the Washington Book Forum. In 1995 we launched our five working groups.

Currently the mission of our work is three-fold: cultivating and organizing indigenous popular educators, conducting action research and developing tools for community-based popular education.

To make comments on this workbook, order more copies, join Project South, or for more information about popular political and economic education, contact us at:

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Popular Education for Movement Building

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Preface

"We are the ones we've been waiting for."
- Bernice Johnson Reagon

Social movements have always come and gone. I didn't see the last one start, but I sure felt the end of it. I was too young to understand that people's resistance to colonial powers worldwide forced a global economic restructuring. I didn't know that the FBI's COINTELPRO crippled and murdered a generation of radical and progressive leadership. I didn't realize that popular protest, in effect, ended an unjust war in Vietnam. Another movement period faded into history; and while the events and their meaning scarcely grazed my youthful conscience, the changes were palpable to me and my generation. We didn't know what we were missing.

The U.S. and the world witnessed the effect of coordinated and organized movements for social justice. "We the People" found that our efforts could bring about some of the changes we wanted if we acted in concert. But we also found that the powers-that-be would do almost anything – coerce, lie and kill – to hold onto their reins.

"Didn't know they could be THAT cruel!" was the cry of those close enough to witness. Others mourned the loss of their brothers and sisters who were either dead, in prison or otherwise out of commission. Most just turned away. Like the scene of a tragic accident, it was just too hard to stick around for very long. The things they had fought so hard for – respect, dignity, a decent and more fair world – seemed so close they could taste 'em, and yet, all of it vanished in what seemed like seconds.

In my teens, I asked a lot of questions. Where ARE all those people? What are they doing now? I wanted to know, because like most teens, I was angry. Nothing made sense. It was stupid and it shoulda' been different. Like: Why did they close the school where poor kids went and bus them over to the "nice" neighborhood? Why did the U.S. need to mine harbors in a place called Nicaragua? I figured that somebody must have been doing something about that. And how come everybody kept telling me to "buy American?"

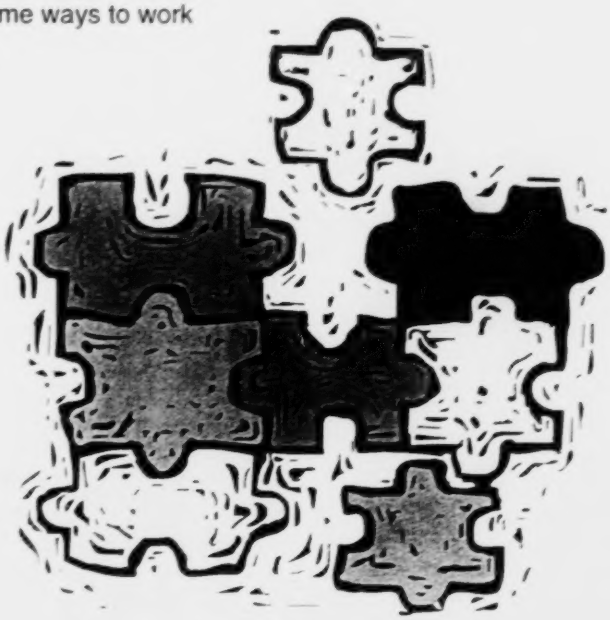
The contradictions were blinding. The more questions I asked, the more I was told not to worry about it.

Meanwhile, corporate think tanks and board room dwellers churned out new strategies for growing, mining, manufacturing and marketing their products. European colonial powers (including the U.S.) had a diminished ability to grease the Third World gears of exploitation. They no longer provided the help they once did – giving business a blank check to write on the backs of everyday people and Mother Earth herself. Besides, advances in transportation, computer technology, resource extraction, and genetic engineering made governments merely an obstacle in the Capitalists' endless march toward maximum profit. Corporate America was about to embark upon a new era of profiteering. They just had to exact the course.

It wouldn't be hard. The FBI, CIA and their cohorts in government had effectively silenced a diligent and devoted generation of community activists and socially conscious leadership. My generation, the so-called "generation-X" grew up without these leaders and mentors in our communities.

In the '90s people in the U.S. face challenges that link us with people throughout the world. Twenty million U.S. kids live in poverty. Black men have a higher probability of going to prison than going to college. And 40,000,000 people can't see a doctor if they want to.

These challenges tend to come from unseen forces that are hard to identify. Who or what is the enemy? If you're not careful, it's easy to blame "the system" without really knowing what that means. Most of us just blame ourselves. That's like punching your way out of a paper bag. We don't realize that thousands of people share our problems and that something is wrong. So we have to ask the simple question: "What's going on?" Then we have to try to answer it as best we can, with everyone telling their stories and experiences. Maybe then we can connect the pieces of the puzzle and find some ways to work through our problems, whatever they are.



Social movements don't just happen. Movements are carved by the sweat of the thousands who contribute their time, energy and brain power to something bigger than ourselves. If our ancestors had left it all up to chance, we wouldn't be here today. And if you listen closely enough you'll hear them calling us to remember what they did and rebuild the remnants of what was left unfinished.

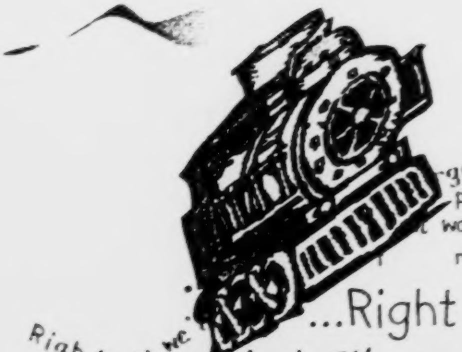
Today, we face a lot of uphill battles. But ask any experienced community organizer and they'll tell you that there's a rowdy gang of teens, working youth, college students and emigres who are eager to re-member history and carry the torch of struggle. These people are the stuff movements are made of. They want to learn the skills and design new strategies for change. They want to create opportunities for people to act upon their convictions, so that the structure of society is more equitable for everyone.

That's where Popular Education for Movement Building comes in. We know that to really be effective we need a *whole lot of everyday people,* who understand history and the underlying problems in our society, to act in concert to fundamentally change our world.

This book offers some tools, ideas and materials you can use to build consciousness among people – to become conscious of our commonalities, uncover the myths that confuse us, and give us a clear path to the future. A future where we walk side by side in the continuing struggle for lives with dignity, justice and compassion for our sisters and brothers.

Jason Wallach
Washington, D.C.
April 1998

Why Popular Education Now?



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What is Popular Education?

Popular education is political education for everyday people. Simply put, popular education is people coming together to discuss problems of injustice and inequality, and learning how to confront these problems collectively.

Popular educators utilize "tools" that address everything from farmworkers' struggles to welfare reform to police misconduct. A tool can be anything that helps deepen our understanding: skits, poems, and songs are examples. Role-plays are also helpful. Guided discussions that raise critical questions about important issues are often used—anything that helps convey knowledge effectively and respectfully will work.

The methods and techniques of popular education come from people's lived experiences. They are as diverse as the people and communities who use these techniques in the struggle for justice and equality.

Popular education is *biased* education—it is not "objective." It is based in the realization that people face systems of power and corporate control that are unjust. If we have not directly experienced injustice, then we know someone in our family or community who has.

Popular education is biased because it teaches liberation for those who suffer from injustice and oppression.

Through popular education, a space is created where people learn history, share experiences, envision the future and create winning strategies that we can use to change the structure of society.

We must be conscious of where we come from, have the vision to know where we want to go, and design the strategy to get there. Only then can we walk the road of justice with any certainty.

Using these techniques we can learn how to work together to demand dignity and respect for our lives and our children's lives.

"I think of popular education as those activities that prepare everyday [people] for full participation in the democratic process."

~~Institute participant

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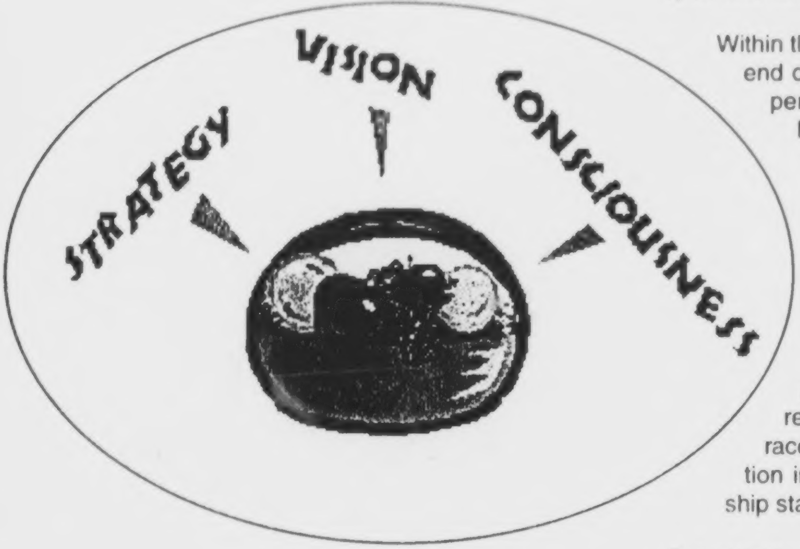
Movement Building For Our Times: Why Popular Education Now?

by Jerome Scott and Walda Katz-Fishman

Living in the global economy and trying to understand its effects on our communities is the challenge of our times. Today's globalization is different from anything before. In economic terms globalization means goods and services are produced and sold throughout the world. It also means that the global corporate elite seeks to impose its will wherever it goes in pursuit of unrestrained access to the world's markets and maximum profits.

In policy terms today's globalization means the end of the welfare state and an increase in police and military power and repression. It means the downsizing and privatization of government services. It also means policies such as the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), the World Trade Organization (WTO), and the proposed Multilateral Agreement on Investment (MAI). Around the world these policies are called "neoliberalism."



An essential ingredient in today's globalization is the widespread use of high technology in production and communication. Electronics (computers, robotics, etc.) greatly reduces the amount of human labor needed to produce goods and services, eliminating jobs and driving down wages, and making possible the restructuring and downsizing of the world's corporations. Electronics also makes communication almost instantaneous — affecting money and commodity markets, as well as the flow of knowledge and information.

Our Realities

Today's globalization means daily crises and destruction of our communities. It means a widening gap between wealth and poverty. In 1996, 447 billionaires had more wealth than the income of the poorest half of the world's 5.8 billion people.[1] In a $25 trillion global economy, 3.3 billion people, 60% of world population, live in extreme poverty. Another 1.4 billion, or 20%, live in abject poverty on less than $1 a day.[2] Almost 1 billion people, roughly 30% of the world's work force, are unemployed or underemployed; and the wages of those still employed are steadily declining.[3] These figures include workers and their families in both developed and developing countries.

Within this reality, we are having to deal with the end of welfare as an entitlement. We are experiencing a direct attack on Medicaid and Medicare and, in fact, on all the gains of the Civil Rights Movement. Our public education and access to higher education are in jeopardy. Escalating police violence and incarceration are the reality in our working class and even middle class neighborhoods. Increasing environmental degradation is the reality in our communities as well as our planet. The impact of these economic realities and policies vary according to our race, class, and gender, as well as our location in the world, our nationality and citizenship status.

But globalization and high technology are a double edged sword. While they eliminate jobs, especially good jobs, and create competition and increasing poverty among working people, they have the capacity to produce enough goods and services so that no human being needs to be hungry, homeless, or without quality health care, education and a liveable income — all within a healthy environment. The question is: "Who has the power to decide?"

Movement Building Blocks

Globalization and its related policies are not without resistance. But for this resistance to become a movement capable of responding to and transforming the realities of today's global economy, several things are necessary. The most important of these are consciousness, vision, and strategy.

Movement building requires a constant process of developing and deepening ***consciousness*** to comprehend our situation and to counter the ideology and myths that keep us confused and divided. By consciousness we mean the big picture we have of our world and of fundamental social change. Consciousness is our understanding of how society works and our place in it, of who wins and who loses within existing social arrangements, and of who are our friends and who are our enemies. Consciousness is also our sense of history — our understanding of the stages of development of human society and culture that form our past, our present, and our future, still in the making.

Having consciousness takes us from seeing our lives as a series of daily events that happen to us to seeing our experiences within the larger systemic forces that shape social and cultural history. When a critical mass of people in the developing movement has achieved this consciousness, then a collective ***vision*** becomes possible. By vision we mean the big and bold picture we have of the world we want for ourselves, our families, our communities and our planet. Our vision places us as active agents of fundamental change — as the makers and shapers of the future we are struggling to build. It locates our future within a whole new stage of social development.

To achieve our vision we must have a viable ***strategy*** that reflects the realities of today's global economy, not the long gone realities of the 1930s, of the 1960s, or of any other historical period. By strategy we mean the big picture plan we have for going from the world we live in to the world we envision. Strategy is our plan for educating and organizing ourselves to undertake the major steps necessary to create the new stage of social history in our future. Our strategy is rooted in our consciousness and our vision of a new world and of the new systemic forces required to make this world a reality. Our strategy must embrace new and modified organizing models that have a global dimension. It must create a unity among the world's workers, poor people and their allies that ignores borders and celebrates our common humanity.

Education is an integral and critical part of building a movement that develops our consciousness, our vision, and a winning strategy for our struggle for a new global society. Today popular education is the form of education that is required in the movement building process to reach the necessary critical mass of people within our communities world over. We believe that an essential next step at this moment is to expand the development of indigenous popular educators and popular education that can be used wherever we find ourselves. We view the ongoing popular education and action research work of Project South as a step toward this end.

Three Essential Ingredients

Consciousness-- *our understanding of how the world works and our place in it, including our sense of history.*

Vision-- *the big and bold picture we have of the world we want for ourselves, our families and our planet.*

Strategy-- *the plan we have for changing the world in which we live into the world we envision.*

---

[1] John Cavanaugh. 1997. "Failures of Free Trade," Washington Post (Jan 23), p. A17.

[2] United Nations. 1997. Human Development Report 1997. New York: Oxford Univ. Press.

[3] International Labour Organization. 1996. "Global Unemployment Crisis Continues" (Nov 26).

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Movement Building for Our Times: Critical Questions

- What are the ***economic*** effects of globalization and high technology on our communities? (Consider differences of race, class, gender, nationality & citizenship status.)

- What are the ***political*** effects of globalization and high technology on our communities? (Consider differences of race, class, gender, nationality & citizenship status.)

- Is there a relationship between globalization and high technology and the policies being implemented today in the US? In other developed and developing countries?

- What is the status of movement building today? How are different communities responding to the political and economic effects of globalization?

- What is the relationship of popular education to our understanding of globalization and high technology? To movement building?

Project South's First Southern Institute for Popular Education

The Southern Institute for Popular Education was held in Atlanta, Georgia from July 18th thru 21st, 1997. The Institute was sponsored by Project South and organized by Project South staff and board members.

The Institute marked the first step in Projects South's "Popular Education Initiative": Project South's plan to train grassroots leaders, to develop a grassroots dialogue and analysis of our current challenges, and to design strategies focused on strengthening organizations working in the struggle for social and economic justice in the South and throughout the U.S.

Described by one of the organizers of the event, the first Southern Institute for Popular Education was "a gathering of 62 people – youth, grassroots organizers, scholar activists and educators – representing a diversity of cultures and communities. It was a meeting of minds for the purpose of building a strong, strategic movement for justice."

The Institute's mission was bold, yet simple: to give popular educators a chance to gather, make new friends and strengthen old relationships; to deepen our understanding of history with regard to the issues of today; to create a fun, challenging atmosphere of learning and sharing popular education tools and techniques; and to develop new useful and effective popular education tools to use in our communities.

In short, we wanted to strengthen the morale, skills, knowledge and leadership abilities of the current and forthcoming generation of movement builders.

There were many pieces to the puzzle. First, we set the ground rules for effective, respectful discussion. We discussed our wants, needs and goals for the Institute in a "meeting of the whole"—a collective session that included all of the Institute's participants. This gave everyone a chance to "check in" as well as check out the group.

Then we set about the more difficult task of working together to learn about and develop the tools that we need to struggle successfully in our community groups, union locals and schools.

> *"I believe that each of us has the responsibility to educate ourselves to the highest level possible. I believe that we can trust no one else to perform this function for us."*
>
> ~~Ginny Stone,
> Institute participant

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"Popular educational practices blur the distinction between teachers and students, they grow out of the actual experience of all the learners involved, and leads toward solutions to problems of injustice and oppression in the community where the education is taking place."

~~Bill Stepenson,
Institute participant,
Gainesville Freedom
School

We organized skill building workshops with people who are directing popular education projects, so we could learn more about possibilities for our own work.

And, we invited elder activists and popular educators to share their reflections on the past and their thoughts on the current challenges we face in transforming society. They spoke about the role that popular education is playing in this transformation.

We listened to speakers from Mexico talk about the strategies they employ in their struggles-from labor organizing in the cities to Zapatista *campesinos* in the countryside.

Throughout the Institute, folks met in Small Working Groups to design the tools that they need to do more effective organizing and education in their neighborhoods and communities.

After the Institute: The Next Steps

The Institute was successful because of the way it continues to inform the work of participants, groups, and popular educators today—long after they returned home. Project South, too, learned a lot about the ways popular education can serve a larger movement for social change.

We found that people are hungry to learn popular education techniques. We found that there is a diversity of opinions about what popular education is. All of these ideas are relevant and valid and contribute to the vibrancy of popular education. Through feedback from the participants, we also gained a better sense of how materials had to be shaped and designed to be useful in community settings.

On a practical level, eight new tools were created by Institute participants. This is significant not only because these activities can be used in the field, but also because many folks left the Institute with the confidence, skills, and creativity to design their own tools in the future.

At the Institute, Project South made the first steps in organizing their Grassroots Popular Education Pilot Project, a new project that pairs Project South with other community-based groups that want to better integrate popular education into the work they do. Many relations that began with, or as a result of, the Institute will aid in making the Pilot Project a success.

On a spiritual level, participants went home with a greater understanding of the importance of our work. Many left the Institute with a renewed vigor for their efforts. Participants who were new to popular education learned of the contributions that popular educators are making to the fabric of community life throughout the South. New relationships were built that will strengthen the skills of the experienced and bring the younger generation on board.

The first Southern Institute on Popular Education was a chance for people to gather in spite of the barriers that typically prevent us from talking to one another: racism, sexism, classism, ageism and homophobia.

We were able to share our triumphs and our struggles with one another as everyday people, educators and activists. We learned from each other's successes. We looked forward with collective vision and took steps toward strategizing about the problems we face in our communities.

We educated ourselves to live the adage: "Each one, teach one...so that each one can reach many."

OPLES MOVEMENT

Old South, New South: What Will the Future Hold?

OLD SOUTH: ~1500 – 1963

- White Supremacist Ideology (belief and values)
- European conquest for land, labor and wealth

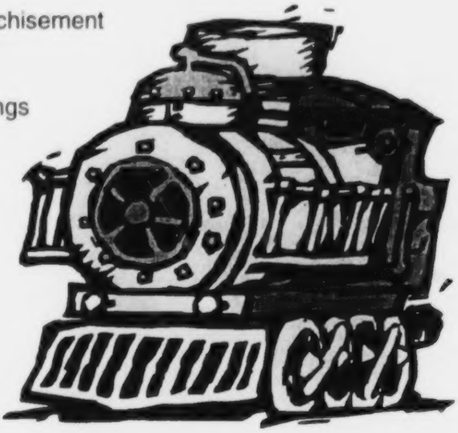
- Genocide and forced removal of Native Americans; resistance
- Plantations and slavery of African peoples; slave revolts and resistance

- Confederacy, Civil War, abolition and Underground Railroad
- Sharecropping, farming and the Populist Movement

- Jim Crow Laws, Black and poor disenfranchisement
- Chain gangs and forced labor

- White supremacist terror: KKK and lynchings (of Whites and Blacks)

- Human rights violations: depression, poverty, poor health, hunger and illiteracy



NEW SOUTH: 1964 – 1998

- Broken Indian treaties

- Labor pools and prison (forced) labor

- Prison-industrial complex and executions

- White supremacist ideology (belief and values)

- South industrializes and becomes integrated into global corporate economy

- High tech global corporate economy – downsized and restructured

- Civil Rights reforms: Black elected officials and Black upper and middle classes

- Environmental destruction and toxic poisoning of communities

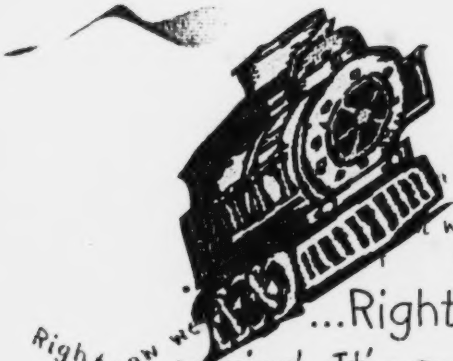
- White supremacist terror: church burnings, 5 majority black congressional districts lost, roll back of voting rights reforms, bombings in Atlanta and Alabama

- Human rights violations: the rich get richer and the people get poorer —un/underemployment, poverty, homelessness, hunger, illiteracy, and lack of access to health care; Survival Struggles

- Welfare "Reform": more hurdles/restricted access to benefits

> *"Right now we're in what I call an organizational period... It's completely different from what happens when there is a social movement. During organization times you try to anticipate a social movement, and if it turns out you're right, then you'll be on the inside of a movement, helping with mobilization and strategies, instead of the outside jumping on the bandwagon and never being an important part of it. You try to figure out what's going to happen so that you can position yourself in such a way as to become a part of it: you do things in advance to prepare the groundwork for a larger movement. That way, you're built into it when the momentum begins. It's like learning to ride freight trains.*
>
> --Myles Horton,
> "The Long Haul"

Project South's Toolbox &
Welfare in the Global Economy



Right now we

Welfare in the Global Economy

period... It's com-

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Project South's Critical Issues Toolbox: The Big Picture

> *"I see education as being most effective when it is interactive, uses a variety of different methods and media, and gives the individuals space to pursue and understand their own thoughts, feelings and ideas on the basis of equality."*
>
> ~~Susan Hagood, workshop participant

The Critical Issues Toolbox is a collection of popular education "tools" that can be used to educate people about almost any issue that you might organize around. We have developed a set of tools which are easily adapted to meet the needs of your organization, students or community. The toolbox consists of four main elements: a myth quiz, a timeline, critical questions and a resource guide.

The purpose of the toolbox is (at least) four fold:

- To challenge misinformation
- To examine the history of an issue and how current realities were developed
- To help us discuss key concepts, perspectives, ideas and strategies
- To provide resources for further learning

These tools can be used by themselves, in combination with other tools, or in a series. People learn best when information is presented in a variety of ways and they are able to learn over a period of time.

For this reason, these tools are ideally used in a series of workshops - but we realize that this is not always possible, so we've tried to make it easy to adapt them to shorter timeframes.

This workbook presents three sets of resource materials that we developed using these tools. Each set deals with a different issue: Welfare, Crime and Injustice and Health Care. Our materials reflect a Southern perspective. You can use your own regional history and context to adapt the materials.

In the following pages we showcase the "Welfare in the Global Economy" materials. We use it as an example, providing suggestions for how to use each tool and some notes for facilitators.

These resource materials were created by the volunteers of the Project South Working Groups, with assistance from Project South staff.

TOOLS IN THE TOOLBOX

The Myth Quiz *challenges popular misconceptions of major issues and reveals alternative views.*

The Timeline *shows the history of an issue from many perspectives: government policy, economic effects, and people's organized responses. The timeline incorporates people's Personal Reflections, tying in people's lived experience with major historical and movement events.*

Critical Questions *challenges people to evaluate issues and draw more informed conclusions through a sharing of perspectives, ideas, and data.*

The Resource Guide *points out books, videos and other sources for further study.*

Myth Quiz

The myth quiz is a fun way to challenge our knowledge of the issues we study and organize around. Quizzes are designed to present factual information contrary to the biases and prejudices of the media, politicians, or "public opinion." Quite often we find that the messages repeatedly fed to us via the sources of power are untruths designed to promote specific political viewpoints. For example:

The average number of children in a family receiving AFDC is:

a. 2 or 3 **b. 3 or 4** **c. 4 or 5**

Answer: a. 2 or 3. This question challenges the myth that women on welfare are lazy, don't work and have children thinking "welfare will pay" for them. Truth: Women on welfare have the same number of kids as other women; they access the welfare system because they need the aid to raise their kids.

Quizzes can be easily circulated. They are a simple, creative way to help us overcome our own biases and learn the truth, which is seldom heard in dominant culture.

The Timeline

The timeline is a two-part exercise that illuminates ~~the~~ historical backgrounds—personal and political—of an issue. This helps folks see how historical events affect the present day. The first part of the timeline exercise typically has three parallel parts related to a given issue: history of government policy, the economic trends that affected the policies, and the history of citizen response and resistance. Through examining the interaction of economics, government policy, and the organizing of everyday people, we form a grassroots perspective on current issues.

Personal Reflection is an important part of the timeline tool. It is linked to the timeline activity and makes us see how our experiences and the experiences of others fit into a historical context. Simple as it may be, personal reflection can be a discussion or sharing of stories. Sometimes, people will be invited to write on post-em notes and stick their stories on a larger timeline posted on the wall. Viewing lived experience in the context of historical events is an empowering process. It helps us to understand how larger forces affect our daily lives and identify what we want to change as well as gives us clues on how to go about that change.

Critical Questions

These are questions designed to stimulate thought and analysis. They integrate the different layers of history with the lived experience of the participants. Critical questioning is the core work that addresses where we've been, what we've done and where we are now. It provides critical building blocks for creating effective strategies for future action.

The success of each of these tools is dependent on our ability to make the participants' lived experience central to the learning process. Each tool should be used in a way that emphasizes the relationship of new information (or historical facts) to our previous knowledge or lived experience; *not* in a way that emphasizes what people don't know.

The Resource Guide

The resource guide is simply a tool to help people access further study of an issue, usually from alternative perspectives that are not readily available in libraries and the major media. The resource guides may include books, magazine articles, internet websites or videos.

A Sample Agenda

There are some great resources out there to help you plan your own workshop. We offer a few pointers about planning an agenda and present some examples about how you might organize tools from our toolbox to create a workshop, or a series of workshops on different topics (pp. 35-36).

Guidelines for Group Discussion

While most of these suggestions may seem like common sense, it is always helpful for group members and facilitators alike to take a moment before a workshop to review them. This ensures that a level of understanding and respect has been reached by group members.

Be Positive
Be Energetic
Be Supportive
Be Interactive

Purposes of a Group Discussion

- Group discussion is not a debate, nor is it a clash of will.
- It is an effort to bring out a wide variety of ideas and understandings.
- It is a process of clarifying the issues faced by all group members.
- It is an effort to arrive at a group opinion of the issues being discussed, or arrive at better questions that need to be answered.

Taking Responsibility for the Group Process

- Keep the task of the group in mind at all times. If the group strays too far away from the task, you as a facilitator *or* group participant should help to bring the group back to the task at hand.
- Be aware of time limitations. Watch the clock and remind the group if it seems behind schedule. (Sometimes it is helpful to choose a timekeeper.)
- Keep track of who is participating in the group and who is not; draw out the quiet members. In an active group, a quiet person may have difficulty entering into the discussion; you can offer that person an opening simply by asking what s/he thinks.
- Be aware of your own participation. Share your best ideas. If you think of an interesting story, save it for break—keep the group on task. If you find it easy to talk, be brief and to the point. Change topics only when the whole group is ready for the change.

GROUND RULES

We all have knowledge. Youth, educators, grassroots activists, and scholars all have their respective areas of expertise. We also all have areas of ignorance. Respect the strengths and weaknesses of all.

All participants have an equal opportunity to participate during workshops and small group sessions. Facilitators will help draw out quieter people and insure that more vocal people do not dominate.

That racism, sexism, classism, and homophobia exist as part of the fabric of society is not debatable. Manifestations of the above will not be tolerated in discussions.

Open minds only. Participants should leave their agendas and dogma at the door when they are in a group discussion.

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Listen Carefully to What Others Have to Say

- Act courteously and respectfully toward other members of the group.
- Take note of differing perspectives among group members; watch for body language which may indicate what a group member is feeling.
- Build on what others have said. This is a way of expanding and combining ideas in order to achieve the best possible end product. Remember this is not strictly the job of the facilitator; this skill should be practiced by each member of the group.
- Group discussion is intended to pool our resources. We share what we know about the topic. Through this process we learn from and teach each other. It is important that all members of the group share pertinent information that will help the group address the questions at hand.

At the Workshop (for facilitators):

- Review materials that will be used before the workshop—understand what you are presenting before you walk in the room.
- Designate a note-taker and timekeeper before you begin. Stick to scheduled time goals (within reason).
- Facilitators should introduce themselves, welcome everyone, and briefly explain why they are facilitating.
- Participants should introduce themselves to other members of the group.
- Be clear about what the group is doing. Introduce the workshop. State the purpose & plan of activity.
- Review the groundrules for discussion.
- Timekeeper, facilitators and group members should keep things moving and on task.
- Help participants by summarizing or clarifying what they say (to their satisfaction), if they are unclear or nervous.
- Evaluate the group process. Take some time to discuss how well the group addressed the topic at hand—practicing the skills described above.
- (After the workshop) Reflect on your own performance: what did you do well and what skills would you like to improve?

Working Group on Poverty and the Global Economy: Why Study Welfare?

In signing the Personal Responsibility Act of 1996 President Bill Clinton radically altered key principles of federal, and consequently, state policy toward the poor in the United States. The major changes included the end of AFDC as an "entitlement" program—one that offered assistance to all eligible people. AFDC was replaced with Temporary Assistance to Needy Families (TANF). Food stamp eligibility was also severely restricted.

The government is no longer obliged to care for children, the hungry, or the working poor. Now people get help only as long as the money lasts in the state coffers. The new law mandates that all parents receiving welfare will work at least twenty hours per week within two years, regardless of the prospects for work, or be cut off.

The Act also established a 5-year lifetime limit for receiving TANF benefits. People in the South have been disproportionately affected by this aspect of the Law since many of the Southern states, with permission from the Feds, created more stringent barriers to aid and shorter timelines. The new Act was the next step in an undeclared war on the poor in the U.S.

For this reason, Project South developed "Welfare In the Global Economy," a series of popular education tools from the Critical Issues Toolbox, which address recent changes in the welfare system. They cover the history of government policy toward poor and working class people in the U.S. The timeline examines the history of changes in welfare policy from the New Deal — when the first federal welfare program was introduced—until today, which marks the end of government guarantees of aid to the poor.

The quiz confronts myths about who receives assistance, both corporations and individuals, and finds the truth about how much money is budgeted to help the poor. These tools also look at the differences in public perception of poor and working-class people over time.

The critical questions consider the impacts of the global economy on the welfare state. Has it always been a crime to be poor in the U.S.? Do the new welfare policies constitute a violation of our human rights? What do we want a welfare system to look like?

Finally, there is a resource guide for people interested in learning more about the welfare system: past, present and future.

"It's not fair for people to get rich - and stay rich- by defrauding people who are poorer than they are... Back in the 1950s U.S. corporations paid 31% of the Federal government's general revenues. Today they pay less than 15%. If businesses paid taxes at the same rate that they paid 40 years ago, the Federal deficit would disappear overnight--and that's with out eliminating a single corporate subsidy or "reforming" a single welfare program."

source: Take the Rich off Welfare
by Mark Zepezauer and Arthur Naiman, 1996.

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How to Use the Myth Quiz

THE BIG IDEA:
The Myth Quiz challenges our knowledge of issues that affect us everyday, issues that we care about. The quiz helps us to confront the stereotypes and misconceptions that cloud our ability to address core problems in our society. We want to emphasize that the larger lesson we can all learn from the quiz is that there is a whole lot of misinformation out there.

Quizzes help us maintain our vigilance in staying informed on important issues. They are easily circulated and can be used to spark discussions that delve deeper into important issues. We highlight the "Welfare in the Global Economy Quiz" as an example of how to use a quiz in a workshop setting. You can use this framework to develop workshops on a variety of issues—like environmental justice or plant closings.

Short Version
(use as one component of a time-limited workshop)

The short version of the quiz exercise takes between 15 and 30 minutes. It can be helpful in the beginning of a short workshop, especially if you need a fun way to get people to interact early in the event. The purpose of this version is to quickly establish that we have misconceptions about the welfare system, to show that welfare is somewhat of a mystery for most people and to spark discussion.

The Flow:

You can do this activity in a large group or break into smaller groups (3-6 people). Pick about 7-10 questions that are consistent with your purpose. Ask each person to read a question and request a show of hands for each possible answer (a, b, c, etc.)—then read the answer. How did people answer? Make a point of how most people answered and bring out the common misconceptions.

In this version there is usually not enough time to get much reaction or reflection from participants about the answers, so keep things moving. Emphasize the point that there are a lot of misconceptions about welfare and welfare recipients, and plan time for reflection later in the workshop.

Long Version (for a longer workshop, or a series)

Decide how you want to divide your group. Smaller groups (3-6) allow for more intimate interaction among participants. Larger groups (7-15) ensure that more people share the same reactions and reflections.

Allow 30-45 minutes to go through all of the questions on the quiz. Reprint the quiz on "3X5" cards with the answers on the back- or reprint the questions on one sheet without the answers.

Pass out the 3X5 cards and have different people read the questions, or if you are working with a large group ask one person to read all the questions (like a gameshow host). Ask people for a show of hands (or applause) for the answer they think is correct, then read the right answer. Discuss the answers and allow for reaction and comment after each answer, if there is any. If you are working in small groups, bring the groups back together and have a facilitator lead a discussion.

Discussion points:

1.) Which information was the most surprising?

2.) Why were these answers so surprising? (e.g., media portrayal, stereotyping, politician's lies, etc.)

3.) What purpose does the misinformation serve?

4.) What can we do about it?

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Myth Quiz: Welfare in the Global Economy

DEVELOPED BY THE PROJECT SOUTH WORKING GROUP ON POVERTY AND THE GLOBAL ECONOMY

1. In 1994, the federal expenditure for Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) was

a. approximately $14 billion
b. approx. $20 billion
c. over $50 billion

2. Generally speaking, what percentage of the federal budget is AFDC?

a. 1 % or less **b. 5%** **c. over 10%**

3. In 1994, the average number of AFDC monthly recipients was

a. about 14 million **b. about 19 million** **c. about 21 million**

4. The average number of children in a family receiving AFDC is

a. 2 children or less **b. 3 - 4 children** **c. 5 or more children**

5. What percentage of mothers on AFDC have two or more low-paying jobs?

a. 28% **b. 44%** **c. 55%**

6. What percentage of AFDC recipients leave the program within the first two years?

a. 25 % **b. 50%** **c. 75%**

7. The new federal minimum wage ($5.15/hr) will allow welfare recipients taking jobs at this rate to become self-sufficient, full-time, year-round workers and lift their families out of poverty.

a. True **b. False**

8. Nationally, the average monthly AFDC payment to families in 1994 was

a. $212 **b. $378** **c. $562**

9. The number of corporate welfare programs in 1996, subsidized by the federal government, was more than

a. 27 **b. 79** **c. 120**

10. In 1996, corporate welfare cost approximately

a. $149 billion **b. $300 billion** **c. $448 billion**

11. In 1994, the average number of monthly recipients of food stamps was

a. about 28 million **b. about 35 million** **c. about 49 million**

12. Of all food stamp recipients before the 1996 Welfare Reform Bill, how many were children?

a. about 20% **b. about 40%** **c. over 50%**

13. How many people lived below the poverty level in 1995?

a. about 24 million **b. about 36 million** **c. over 50 million**

14. What was the federal poverty level for a family of four in 1995?

a. $15,569 **b. $25,569** **c. $31,569**

15. What was the poverty rate for children in 1995?

a. about 7% **b. about 13%** **c. about 20%**

16. The majority of individuals living below the poverty level are

a. under 18 years old **b. 25 to 34 years old** **c. 65 years old and over**

17. What was the number of Blacks who were poor in 1995?

a. about 3 million **b. about 6 million** **c. about 9 million**

18. The child poverty rate for suburban children is

a. growing far more quickly than the urban rate
b. growing faster among whites than blacks
c. both a and b

19. One of the fastest growing poverty rates is found among children living in traditional nuclear families with one employed parent.

a. True **b. False**

20. The nation's capital, Washington, DC has one of the highest percentages of persons in poverty.

a. True **b. False**

WELFARE IN THE GLOBAL ECONOMY MYTH QUIZ: ANSWERS AND NOTES

1. a. Federal expenditure for AFDC in 1994 was $14,141,000,000. *Expenditures include administrative expenses.* In 1994, state and local expenditures were $11,779,000,000. Total expenditures (federal, state and local) were $25,920,000,000.

2. a. Less than 1% of the federal budget or $12.2 billion was allocated to AFDC in 1993.

3. a. In 1994, the average number of monthly recipients was 14,229,000.

4. a. Seventy-two (72) percent of all families receiving AFDC have 2 or fewer children.

5. b. Forty-four (44) percent of working mothers receiving AFDC hold 2 or more jobs.

6. c. Seventy-five (75) percent of AFDC recipients leave welfare permanently in less than two years.

7. False. The minimum wage became $5.15 per hour in September 1997. A person working 40 hours for 50 weeks would earn $10,300 before taxes.

8. b. The average monthly AFDC payment to families in 1994 was $378. Recipients received an average monthly payment of $135. (Recipients include the children and one or both parents, or one caretaker relative other than a parent, in families where the needs of such adults were considered in determining the amount of assistance.)

9. c. According to "It's Time to End Corporate Welfare As We Know It" by Ralph Nader in Earth Island Journal/Fall 1996, the Federal corporate welfare programs number over 120.

10. c. According to Mark Zepezauer and Arthur Naiman in "Take The Rich Off Welfare" 1996, corporate welfare projects total about $448 billion a year. Compare this to welfare for the poor, which totals about $71.5 billion a year.

11. a. In 1994, the average monthly recipients of food stamps were 28,900,000. This includes Puerto Rico's nutritional assistance program.

12. c. The answer is over 50% ("The Depth of the Food Stamp Cuts in the Final Welfare Bill", Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, August 12,1996).

13. b. In 1995, the number of people below the official government poverty line was 36.4 million. The poverty rate was 13.8% in 1995 (United States Census Bureau: Poverty and Health Statistics, 1996).

14. a. $15,569. In 1995, the number of families below the official government poverty level was 7.5 million resulting in a poverty rate of 10.8 %.

15. c. There were 14.7 million children under 18 years of age who were poor. This means that 20.8% of children lived below the poverty level.

16. b. The majority of individuals are between 25 and 34 years old.

17. c. According to the Census Bureau, 9.9 million persons. (United States Census Bureau: Poverty and Health Statistics, 1996).

18. a. According to a study released by Columbia University in 1996, suburban child poverty is growing far more quickly than the urban rate.

19. True. According to a report from the National Center for Children in Poverty (1996), nuclear families with one employed parent are experiencing the fastest growing poverty rates found among children.

20. True. For three years (1993-1995), the average poverty rate for the District of Columbia was 23.3%. Only Louisiana had a higher poverty rate, 23.9%.

—Unless otherwise stated, the statistics for this quiz are from the Statistical Abstract of the United States 1996. U.S. Government Printing Office: Washington, D.C.

How to Use a Timeline

THE BIG IDEA:
The Timeline is an interactive way to learn history that integrates people's lived experience with the significant events and trends that shape current issues. Using a timeline we can review the historical events that form the current moment and examine the relation of those events to our lives and our families' lives today. We do this with an eye toward learning about ourselves, our society, and a grassroots perspective on issues that call for action.

Project South uses a three-line model. Each line on the timeline represents a different historical force in society: government programs and policies, major economic shifts, and popular social movements. When we look at these three lines together, it becomes clear that each force impacts the other. This is key to understanding our current situation and what the future holds.

In this section we highlight the "Welfare in the Global Economy" Timeline and dress it up a bit to include both broader historical events and trends and examples of personal experience to demonstrtate how it can be used in community and classroom settings. The full timeline is on p.87.

Short Version:

The purpose of this version is simply to give folks a quick historical briefing of the welfare issue. The short version is less interactive and more like a presentation. It will take 20-30 minutes. Despite time limitations, participants can take the timeline with them when they leave, so the exercise can have some impact after folks go home. (Note: To save time, we recommend limiting the highlighted events to those from the The Great Depression (1929) to the present.)

- Copy and Pass out the timeline to each person at the workshop (policy, economy, and popular movements).
- Explain the timeline exercise and the significance of the three divisions. Announce that people's experiences with the welfare system will be important, too.
- Solicit 2 or 3 personal experiences from participants about their interaction with the welfare system and fit those into the timeline disussion.
- Then, highlight those events which relate most directly to the focus of your workshop -- explaining the importance of each event.
- Take questions as you go, but keep things moving.

Long Version:

The longer version gives people more of a chance to integrate their personal experiences into a historical understanding of welfare in this country. This version will take 1 1/2 hours.

- Draw the 3-line timeline out onto butcher block paper and post (p. 29).
- Explain the three parts (policy, economy and popular movements).
- Ask partcipants to write down their first or most memorable encounter with the welfare system on post-'em notes or small sheets of paper - and then post them where they fit (chronologically) on the timeline.
- Walk and talk through the timeline in periods of about 20 years. Ask people for their memories and reactions.
- When you come to a post-'em, ask the person who wrote it to tell the story it describes.

Discussion Points:

1.) What in the timeline surprised people?

2.) What is the relationship of politics, the economy, and people's movements (see below)?

3.) Where is the Welfare system headed?

4.) What can we do about it?

In-depth version:

- Use the time line with different groups to study the origin of the Welfare state by highlighting different periods of time and doing book study (e.g. colonial, reconstruction, new deal eras).
- If a group has participated in a timeline activity - they may want to create their own timelines around issues of concern to them.

Timeline: Welfare in the Global Economy

DEVELOPED BY MEMBERS OF THE PROJECT SOUTH WORKING GROUP ON POVERTY & THE GLOBAL ECONOMY*

1865 -1866 **KKK started**
Freedman's Bureau established

1868 **Fourteenth Amendment**

1870 **Fifteenth Amendment**

1872-1964 **Legal Segregation**
Jim Crow and States Rights

1872 **Freedman's Bureau liquidated**

1884 **The Berlin Conference**
The "Scramble for Africa" and balkanization of Africa and division by the European colonial powers.

1896 ***Plessy v. Ferguson***–"separate but equal"– undermined Fourteenth Amendment by allowing school segregation.

1909 **White House Conference on Dependent Children--**Report from the Conference states that "the home should not be broken up for reasons of poverty."

1911 Missouri passes the first Widow's Pension Law, which provides cash assistance to women with dependent children . By 1935 all but two states-- South Carolina and Georgia-- were extending this type of aid.

--Key--

Historical Detail

Personal Reflection

1877 In this year Rutherford B. Hayes is declared President on condition that Federal Troops be withdrawn from the South. This was a major step in the dismantling of Reconstruction and opened the door for Black Codes and Jim Crow Constitutions.

The Black Codes prohibited African-Americans from testifying against whites. Under these codes Blacks were also required to demonstrate proof of employment at all times, otherwise they would be convicted of vagrancy and be imprisoned or enslaved.

Meanwhile, the unemployed riot in many major cities after unsucessful efforts to target public monies toward works projects and other forms of assistance to the poor.

1912 **U.S. Children's Bureau created**

1914-1918 **World War I**

1919 **Red Summer—** mass destruction of property and lives of African American people by Whites in the South

1920 **Nineteenth Amendment –** White women (and a few northern African American women) given the right to vote

** You'll find a more detailed version on pp. 95-98*

1921 The Infancy and Maternity Act was the first Federal statute to provide a matching grant to states promising to establish facilities and services (hospitals, clinincs, public health nursing and education, etc.) in accordance with the Children's Bureau. The Act was repealed in 1929.

1921 **Infancy and Maternity Act enacted (aka Sheppard-Towner Act)**

1929-1941 **Great Depression Era**

1929 **Infancy and Maternity Act repealed**
Wall Street Crash

1932 **Compulsory Sterilization Laws (27 states)**

1933 **Federal Emergency Relief Act signed into law**

1935 **Social Security Act - Aid to Dependent Children (Title IV); American Birth Control League: Negro Project**

1941-1945 **World War II**

1944 **Formation of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development** at the Bretton Woods conference (World Bank and IMF)

1946 **The Marshall Plan** was initiated.

1947 **Taft-Hartley Act**

1935 ***Social Security Act - Aid to Dependent Children***
This law was enacted during the depression. It offered cash assistance to retirees and the unemployed, as well as selected groups among the poor. The Act provided maternal and children's health care; however, it denied aid to women living with men and those considered undeserving (divorced, separated, never married, and women of color). It marked the beginning of public welfare as part of the federal budget.

American Birth Control League: Negro Project *- Some Black ministers encouraged 'voluntary' sterilization.*

1948 **UN treaty on Human Rights** ratified.

1949 **Proposal to extend ADC** to two-parent households denied;
Agricultural Act--Commodities program begun.

1955 ***Montgomery Bus Boycott*** *- marks the start of civil disobedience dimension of modern Civil Rights Movement. It is sparked by Rosa Parks' refusal to give up her seat on a municipal bus. Rosa had attended school desegregation workshops at Highlander Folk School in Tennessee and was active in the Montgomery Chapter of the NAACP.*

1954 **Brown vs. Board of Education**
Citizenship Schools

1960s **Free lunches in schools.**

1960 **United States has troops in Vietnam.**

1961 **ADC becomes AFDC**--Beginning of inclusive policies of poor and Blacks/People of Color, Aid was extended to two parent households. However, the changes were not mandatory and many states refused to participate, particularly poorer, more rural ones.

1963 "I started getting a check for my son & I worked in the chicken house."
—single mom

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1963 **March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom; Economic Opportunity Act; and Declaration of War on Poverty by President Johnson**

1963 "My 9th grade Christmas service project collected and delivered food/clothes to families on AFDC - Garfield Park neighborhood, westside of Chicago."

1964 **Civil Rights Act** - end of de jure (legal) discrimination (political, civil, employment)

1965 **Voting Rights Act**

1966 **Poor people's demonstrations** across the nation led by people of color.

1968 "Denied benefits because husband/father in home, worked as $5/day maid, 4 children."

"Long line waiting for commodity food!"

1967 **National Welfare Rights Organization (NWRO)** formed— welfare amendments, WIN, enacted

1968 **The Riot Commission** called for a commitment to end poverty and Racial discrimination.

1969 **Family Assistance Plan (FAP)** proposed by Nixon.

1972 **Sterilization:** Department of HEW cited for sterilization abuse (funded sterilization procedures for over 200,000 women and men).

1973-present **New Right Consolidation, Democratic Party Shift to Right, political shift to right.**

1978 "I started getting AFDC during the year 1978, and I'm not a lazy young lady because I have worked during my lifetime off and on. And I have taken care of my two kids like a mother that was not on welfare." J.M.

1981 The Ominbus Reconciliation Act
Ushering in the Reagan Era, The Omnibus Reconciliation Act massively changed the face of welfare. It limited eligibility to families with less than 150% of a state's need standard and restricted AFDC to the last trimester of a woman's first pregnancy. It also denied aid to families of striking workers. The Law encouraged states to introduce mandatory workfare and offered wage subsidies to employers who hired AFDC recipients, thus undercutting union wages and benefit levels.

1981-1982 **Initiation of Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPS) by the World Bank and the I.M.F.**

1982 I started receiving welfare in 1982 after my son was born - Had to lie to stay in school - Good thing they didn't catch me.

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1989 **Savings and Loan bailout begins.**

1990 **Norplant** encouraged in public health clinics.

1991 **Indian Health Service** coerces women to use Norplant.

1991-1992 **20 Norplant Bills and Welfare Amendments Introduced.**

1994 **North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) initiated; Zapatista rebellion in Mexico.**

1990 I met members of the Kensington Welfare Rights Union and got involved supporting them.

Lost my job and had to apply for AFDC, Food Stamps and Medicaid. Went back to school full-time, but was humiliated in the process by workers. Got my degree while working as they kicked myself and child out of system. Met some good caseworkers in the system despite problems. JB

1996 Personal Responsibility Act-
This Act signed by Prsident Bill Clinton ended welfare as an entitlement, thus eliminating AFDC--which entitled all eligible people to receive aid. Temporary Aid to Needy Families (TANF) was created in its place. TANF created very stringent barriers to aid such as mandatory work requirements. Restrictions on single moms, legal immigrants and workers in economically depressed areas were among those hardest hit by the new changes.

1997 **1 Billion people un/underemployed globally**

1997-1998 States design and implement new welfare programs according to TANF regulations

1997 I just recently applied for assistance. I receive food stamps and med. No TANF because I have an income of $118 weekly. JS

THE FUTURE...

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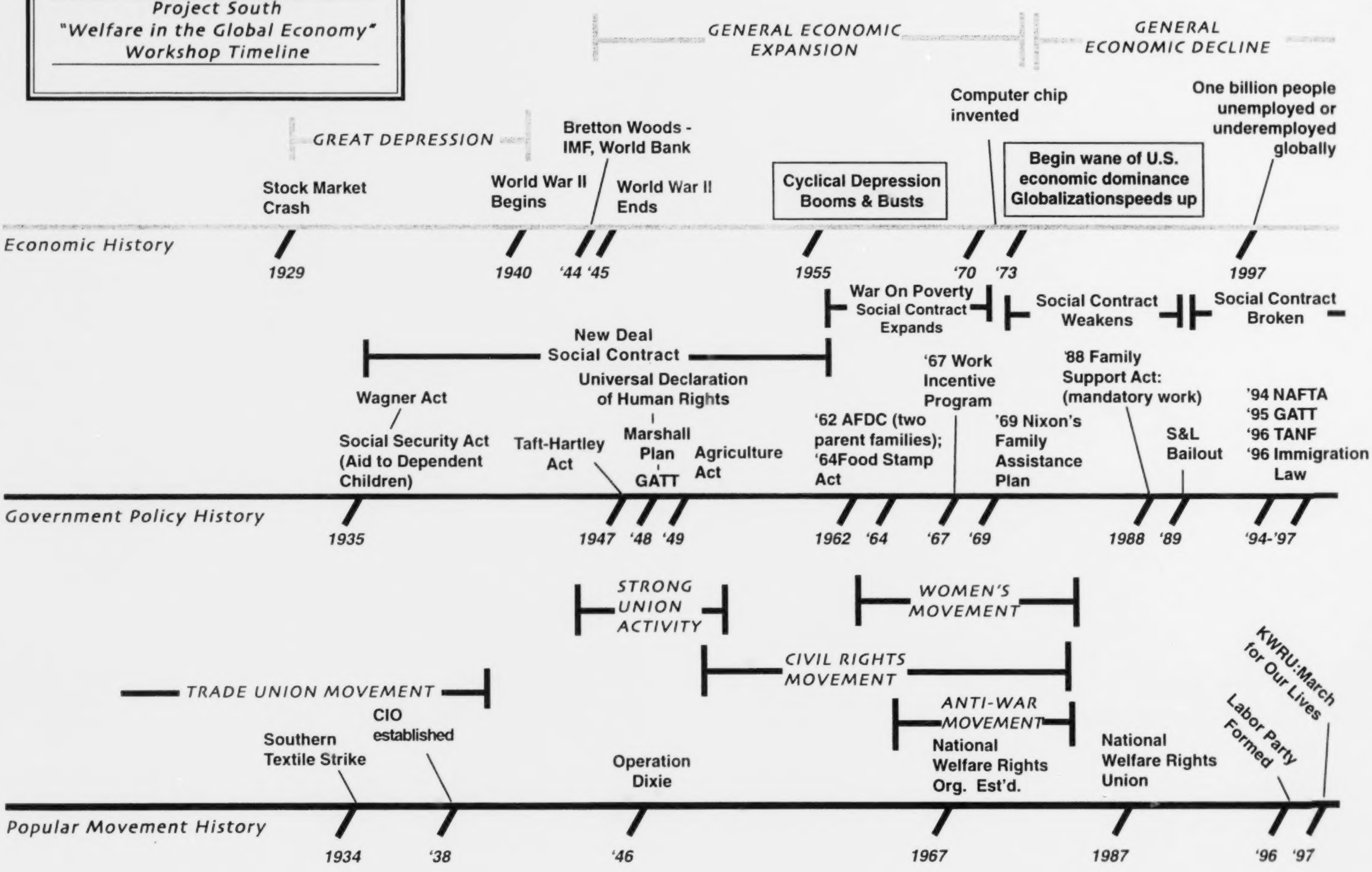
Project South "Welfare in the Global Economy" Workshop Timeline


GENERAL ECONOMIC EXPANSION
GENERAL ECONOMIC DECLINE
GREAT DEPRESSION
Computer chip invented
One billion people unemployed or underemployed globally
Bretton Woods - IMF, World Bank
Begin wane of U.S. economic dominance Globalizationspeeds up
Cyclical Depression Booms & Busts
Stock Market Crash
World War II Begins
World War II Ends
Economic History
1929
1940
'44 '45
1955
'70
'73
1997
War On Poverty Social Contract Expands
Social Contract Weakens
Social Contract Broken
New Deal Social Contract
'67 Work Incentive Program
'88 Family Support Act: (mandatory work)
Universal Declaration of Human Rights
Wagner Act
'62 AFDC (two parent families); '64Food Stamp Act
'69 Nixon's Family Assistance Plan
'94 NAFTA
'95 GATT
'96 TANF
'96 Immigration Law
S&L Bailout
Social Security Act (Aid to Dependent Children)
Taft-Hartley Act
Marshall Plan
GATT
Agriculture Act
Government Policy History
1935
1947
'48
'49
1962
'64
'67
'69
1988
'89
'94-'97
STRONG UNION ACTIVITY
WOMEN'S MOVEMENT
CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT
TRADE UNION MOVEMENT
ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT
KWRU:March for Our Lives
Labor Party Formed
Southern Textile Strike
CIO established
Operation Dixie
National Welfare Rights Org. Est'd.
National Welfare Rights Union
Popular Movement History
1934
'38
'46
1967
1987
'96
'97

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How to Use Critical Questions

THE BIG IDEA:
Critical Questions are designed to provoke thought and analysis. They integrate historical workshop information with participants' perspectives and lived experiences. The act of questioning is a search for meaning and understanding of how we as individuals and members of communities fit into larger social and political contexts.

Questioning is central to examining where we've been and where we are now. It also provides the building blocks for creating effective strategies for future action.

Short Version:

It is important to always include some time for discussing the "Big Questions". (We suggest at least 30 minutes.) These discussions serve a number of purposes. They provide an opportunity to:

- Develop a better understanding of new ideas, theories and information.
- Share personal experiences that enhance the knowledge and understanding of other group members.
- Relate new "factual" information with our lived experience — does it ring true according to our everyday realities?
- Talk about what WE can do.

Especially when you are working with limited time, it is important to choose questions that will help focus the discussion on one or two major concepts. Always include some discussion of what we can do — *never leave a group feeling hopeless.*

These discussions can be difficult to facilitate—often times people have a lot to say. Don't let any one person dominate the conversation and make sure everyone has the opportunity to participate. (see "Guidlines for Group Discussion" p. 16)

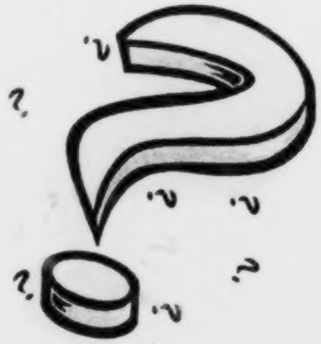
Long Version:

The long version of the critical questions tool works best with groups of people who are working together or know each other.

If you are working with a large group, break them up into smaller groups of 6-8 people to discuss the questions. Ask each group to choose someone to record the major ideas. Allow about one hour for this.

Bring the group back together again. Choose two of the questions (those that are most applicable to the organizing or experience of the group) and ask each group to summarize their answers to those questions.

Use the last half hour to have the group discuss ideas for action, or to explore similarities and differences in participants' analyses — depending on the end goal of your particular workshop. If you are discussing ideas for taking action choose a recorder to take notes.



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Critical Questions: Welfare in the Global Economy

Consider race, class, gender, nationality & citizenship status in the discussion

- Are welfare policies & work/jobs related to the global economy? If so, how?

- Who are the "deserving" poor & the "undeserving" poor? How has this changed throughout the 20th century?

- How have U.S. policies toward working people and the poor, especially people of color and immigrants, changed from the 1930s to the 1960s? From the 1960s to the 1990s? How have women & children been affected?

- Are US welfare policies & work/jobs related to welfare policies & work/jobs in the developing and developed countries today? In previous eras?

- What is & what will be the impact of welfare elimination on the jobs and wages of workers still employed?

Resource Guide: Welfare in the Global Economy

TOP SIX

Abramovitz, M. 1996. Regulating The Lives of Women. South End Press: Massachusetts.

A brilliant revised examination of the way in which scapegoating, stereotyping and social welfare policies are used against poor women including women of color to stabilize the larger social system. One of the rare books that is critical reading for all social work clinicians, organizers, administrators, and policy makers (Elaine Pinderhughes).

Folbre, N. 1995. The New Field Guide to the U.S. Economy. The New Press: New York.

This text brings essential economic issues to life, reflecting the collective wit and wisdom of the more than forty progressive economists affiliated with the Center for Popular Economics. The text covers workers, women, people of color, government spending, welfare, education, health, the environment, macroeconomics, and the global economy.

Quadagno, J. 1994. The Color of Welfare: How Racism Undermined The War on Poverty. Oxford Press: New York.

In the 1960's, the United States embarked on a journey to resole the "American Dilemma". Instead of finally instituting full democratic rights for all its citizens, the policies enacted in that turbulent decade failed dismally. Jill Quadagno reveals the root cause of this failure—inability to address racial inequality.

Sidel, R. 1996. Keeping Women and Children Last. Penguin Books: New York.

In this short, easy to read book, Ruth Sidel examines the condition of American's poor women, with particular focus on the federal government's attempts to dismantle the welfare system. She argues that the United States, in its search for a post-Cold War enemy, has turned inward to target single mothers on welfare and how politicians have scapegoated and stigmatized female-headed families both as a method of social control and to divert attention from the severe problems that Americans face. According to Sidel, the real victims of poverty are the millions of children who suffer from societal neglect, inferior education, inadequate health care, hunger, and homelessness. Citing statistics that are both terrifying and disturbing, Sidel delivers a chilling indictment of the current trends and political maneuvering that threaten to keep America's poor women and children last.

Trattner, W. 1984. From Poor Law To Welfare State: A History of Social Welfare in America. Free Press: New York.

This clearly written text presents a panoramic overview of social welfare in the United States from the colonial era to the present. It highlights the development of the public health, child welfare, and mental health movements, the evolution of social work profession, and the impact of public policies on social workers and other helping professionals — all against the backdrop of social and intellectual trends in American history.

Zepezauer, M. and A. Naiman. 1996. Take The Rich Off Welfare. Odonian Press: Arizona.

This concise and clear account of how the government transfers public funds to the wealthy and privileged could hardly be more timely. It should serve as a very useful tool for those who are appalled by the vindictive attack on the needy and defenseless, and who hope to turn the country to a more civilized course (Noam Chomsky).

ADDITIONAL BOOKS

Coontz, S. 1997. The Way We Really Are: Coming to Terms with America's Changing Families. Basic Books: New York.

This is a social history of the family that draws on social science data to explode myths-liberal and conservative-about families in the past and present. It guides us through the causes and consequences of the changes in today's families, arguing that certain trends are here to stay: mothers in the workplace, diversity among families, and the inability of the nuclear family to handle elder care and child rearing alone. Coontz argues for an expansion of economic, social and cultural support systems to strengthen all types of families.

Dujon, D. and A. Withorn, editors, 1996. For Crying Out Loud: Women's Poverty in the United States. South End Press: Boston.

This is a collection of essays uniting the voices of academics, activists, and advocates and welfare mothers themselves to tell their own stories, their dreams and struggles which are also all our dreams and struggles, and to point the way to policy alternatives to the draconian welfare "reform" of the 104th congress and a new social movement to abolish poverty itself. It is a book about courage, commitment and struggle; about the search for intellectual clarity in our rapidly changing world and for a new vision and strategy to guide the social and political organizing to end poverty and create the society we dream of.

Katz, Michael B. 1989. The Undeserving Poor: From the War on Poverty to the War on Welfare. Pantheon: New York.

This is a social history of the ideas and assumptions that have shaped public policy on poverty in America from the 1960's War on Poverty to the current war on welfare. It critically asks why the debate on poverty employs the rhetoric of family, race and culture and not the language on inequality, power and exploitation. Katz challenges us to move to a new poverty policy that does not stigmatize today's poor as "undeserving."

Katz, Michael B., editor. 1993 The "Underclass" Debate: Views from History. Princeton University Press: New Jersey.

This collection of essays provides a much needed historical context to reframe the "underclass" debate. They point to continuities as well as breaks in the social history of the poor in America and the creative responses of the poor to their conditions. They offer fresh insights from U.S. history into the economic transformations and social policies about the very poor that have unsuccessfully addressed the realities of today's inner city poor and argue for a new policy direction.

Krebs, A.V. 1992. The Corporate Reapers: The Book of Agribusiness. Essential Books.

West, Guida. 1981. The National Welfare Rights Movement: The Social Protest of Poor Women.

Poor Black women led the struggle for economic democracy through the Welfare Rights Movement of the 1960's. This book is a first - hand look at this movement drawing from the accounts of the women themselves.

How to Plan Your Own Workshop

CREATING AN AGENDA

The most important factor in creating an agenda is to know your participants. You want to match your style to the lived experience of the workshop participants. A good agenda takes into account their expectations and is adaptable to their likes and dislikes.

It's best to conduct education over more than one session. This is the best way for the material to "stick" with participants after they leave the workshops. Aside from creativity and good ol' repetition, giving people the opportunity to build relationships and trust is paramount to the process of popular education.

However, multi-session education is not always possible, so we're presenting 3 scenarios that you can adapt for your own use.

The Introductory Workshop

Use this framework when you can only do one workshop with a group on a particular issue - it provides a lot of information in a variety of ways.

Introductions/Icebreaker	10 min
Myth Quiz (short version)	30 min
Timeline (short version)	40 min
Break/Stretch (Do something organized - don't let people wander)	5 min
Critical Questions (short version)	25 min
Closing & Evaluation (verbal)	10 min

Going Deep

Some situations may call for just one workshop that takes a deeper look at a particular aspect of the issue. Single out the tool that best fits the situation and single out one of the following workshop agendas.

The Series

This framework includes three workshops. It can be done in a variety of ways, e.g. spread out over 3 or 6 weeks, or done during one intensive weekend session. Plan according to the group's preferences and organizational culture.

1st Workshop - Myth Quiz

Introductions with an icebreaker	20 min
Myth Quiz (long version) - in small groups	40 min
BREAK	10 min
Large Group Discussion	25 min
Closing/Evaluation	10 min

2nd Workshop - Timeline

Timeline post-ems - ask participants to write down personal experience on post'ems	5 min
Icebreaker	10 min
Participants place post'ems on timeline, look at what's nearby	5 min
Facilitator walks and talks through the timeline (take questions as they come up - include people's post'ems as you go); Choose 3-5 personal experiences (from the post'ems) and ask people to briefly explain them	45 min
BREAK/Stretch - Organized	5 min
Large group discussion	25 min
Closing/Evaluation	10 min

3rd Workshop - Critical Questions

Icebreaker	5 min
Review of previous sessions - Go around and ask everyone to help the group remember one thing from the other workshops	10 min
Critical Questions (long version) - small group discussions	40 min
BREAK/Stretch - organized	5 min
Large Group report back	15 min
Large Group discussion - What can we do?	30 min
Closing/Evaluation	10 min

A Few Tips:
When planning an agenda, it is tempting to make it chock full of information. But, covering more information doesn't mean people will learn more. Introductions, icebreakers and ***BREAKS*** *are just as important to the learning process as the information you present. Don't cut out the breaks! They offer time for people to rest their brains, move their bodies and meet people.*

Also when you're planning your agenda, never forget to include time for an evaluation - even if its brief. Without feedback, we don't know if we're effective educators.

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How to Develop Your Own Materials Using the Critical Issues Toolbox

We recommend working in teams whenever possible - two heads are usually better than one! And three or four? Then you've really got something.

Goals
First, ask yourselves: "What is the purpose of the workshop(s)?"

Focus
Every topic has many facets, and it is impossible to deal with all of them in any one workshop. So, thinking about (1) what you want people to get from the session(s) and (2) how they will be using the new information, you should choose no more than two or three basic themes to focus on.

Any popular education tool you develop (or adapt) should use these themes and be designed to meet your goals.

We designed these tools to be adaptable for many audiences and many issues. There are also many other popular education tools out there and you can always design your own. If you do choose to adapt these tools, here are some helpful hints.

The Myth Quiz
With your team, brainstorm the common areas of misinformation about your topic (these are usually closely related to stereotypes and assumptions). Develop questions that will share truthful information about these areas. Include questions you might personally want answered about the topic (if you don't know, chances are others don't either).

To research the answers to these questions - you can use your library, other local, state or federal agencies and the world wide web. There are also many non-profit organizations that focus on research. Contact Project South, we'd be happy to help point you in the right direction.

The Timeline
As you develop a timeline for your topic, you should try to answer the question "How did things get the way they are?" Short interviews are a good way to start answering this question. Talk with community elders and scholars — and they most likely will give you fantastic leads you can follow up on with "book" research. If your issue has a local angle - make sure to include local historical information.

Remember your timeline doesn't have to include every last historical detail - the participants will fill it in during the workshop. You are putting together a historical framework that people can "hang" their experiences and knowledge on.

Critical Questions
Identify some of the more complex concepts dealt with in the other parts of the workshop. Ask questions about these ideas so that people can discuss them and help each other understand the concepts better. Also include questions that get people to discuss how their personal experience relates to the more "factual" information that was shared. And always ask participants to brainstorm about possible action plans and solutions.

Resource Guide
Keep track of any books or videos you find in the course of your research. These can be the basis for an excellent resource guide for members of your group or other groups working on similar issues.

Criminal Injustice and the Growing Police State

Criminal Injustice & the Growing Police State! try to anticipate a social movement, and if it turns out you're right, then you'll be on the inside of a movement, helping with mobilization and strategies, instead of the outside jumping on the bandwagon and never being an important part of it. You try to figure out what's going to happen so that you can position yourself in such a way as to become a part of it: you do things in advance to prepare the groundwork for a larger movement. at way, you're built into it when the momentum begins... It's like learning to ride reight trains

Right now we

...Right now we're in what I call an organizational period...It's completely different from what happens when there is a social movement. You try to figure out what's going to happen so that you can position yourself in such a way as to become a part of it: you do things in advance to prepare the groundwork for a larger movement. That way, you're built into it when the momentum begins... It's like learning to ride freight trains. Right now we're in what I call an organizational period. It's completely different from what happens when there is a social movement. It's like learning to ride freight trains...

Criminal Injustice and the Growing Police State

Despite a slight decrease in the crime rate for most types of crime, the rate of incarceration has increased 400 percent since 1973. African Americans comprise 44.1% of prison inmates, yet are only 12% of the U.S. population. If current trends continue, 63.3% of African American males will be in jail or on probation by the year 2020. These facts beg the question: Who is considered criminal in the U.S., and how has this changed throughout U.S. history?

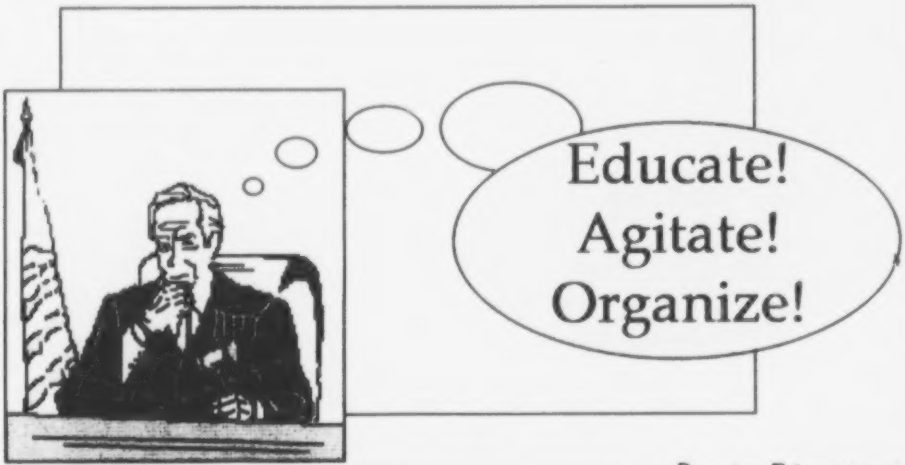
Meanwhile, the prison-construction industry is one of the fastest growing industries in the current economy. Prisoners no longer merely make license plates, they also make bulletproof vests as well as products for the open market, e.g. blue jeans. Prison industries are growing at a rate that will soon force workers outside prison walls to compete for jobs with prisoners making less than 75 cents per hour.

Prison privatization relinquishes democratic control of the prisons from government and puts control in the hands of corporate executives. This "hands-off" government policy values corporate profits more than the social rehabilitation of prisoners.

“Criminal Injustice and the Growing Police State” explores these and other facets of crime, prisons and incarceration in the South and the United States as a whole. It includes a quiz that sets the record straight on the realities of crime, revealing the politicized nature of crime and criminal sentencing.

The timeline examines the history of repressive policies aimed at poor and working-class communities in the U.S.—especially communities of color—with regard to genocide, slavery and social control. It covers attacks on activists and the many prisoners jailed for protesting or resistance to oppression. The growth of the prison industry is also covered, from prison construction to privatization to prison labor.

The critical questions examine the role of economic forces on social control and criminal injustice policy. They examine how the differences of race, class, gender, nationality and other factors affect people's experiences with the justice system in this country. Furthermore, the discussion points question how repression and state violence toward radical activists has affected the consciousness of peoples in the U.S. and their movements for social justice.


Educate!
Agitate!
Organize!

Meanwhile, in the Law Office:

Client: "*I want to sue the police.*

Lawyer: "You want to sue the police?

Client: "*Yeah, I want to sue the police. I've been harrassed, beaten, and verbally abused. I pay taxes. Those police salaries are for them to protect and serve me. I want to sue them.*"

Lawyer: "First of all, your taxes pay them to protect the lifestyles of the rich and powerful--not you. Second of all, to sue them you have to have money for a lawyer's retainer fee, court costs, and for a paralegal to research your case. Do you have that kind of money?

Client: "*No.*"

Lawyer: "If you lose, you'll be responsible for the defense attorney's fees. And winning doesn't guarantee that you'll receive any damage money, since I don't see any scars on you. So, what do you think?"

Client: "*Hmmmm. I don't think I want to sue the police.*"

--from a skit developed at the Institute

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Crime, Injustice & Genocide Myth Quiz

As Americans have become more concerned about crime, the criminal justice system has become less effective at reducing it. The prison population has ***tripled*** *since 1980 and expenditures on law enforcement have* ***quadrupled****. Yet crime rates are essentially unchanged and fear is higher than ever.*

--source: The Real War on Crime, edited by Steven R. Donziger, 1996.

1. Between 1900 and today the murder rate in the U.S. has steadily increased and today is the highest ever.
   - **a. true**
   - **b. false**

2. Rank the following causes of death in the U.S. in the 1990s (highest to lowest).
   - **a. cancer**
   - **b. violent crime**
   - **c. inadequate emergency medical care**
   - **d. occupational hazard & disease**
   - **e. heart disease**

3. During the past 25 years (1970-95), violent crime in the U.S. has:
   - **a. increased by 15%**
   - **b. increased by almost half**
   - **c. more than doubled**
   - **d. increased somewhat**

4. During the past 25 years, the rate at which people have been incarcerated in the U.S. has:
   - **a. slightly increased**
   - **b. slightly decreased**
   - **c. almost doubled**
   - **d. almost quadrupled**
   - **e. remained about the same**

5. Studies have shown that higher imprisonment rates will lower the crime rate.
   - **a. true**
   - **b. false**

6a. The incarceration rate for Black people in the U.S. is approximately ____ that of White people.
   - **a. the same as**
   - **b. 8 times**
   - **c. 2 times**
   - **d. 5 times**

6b. The incarceration rate for Latinos in the U.S. is approximately ____ that of White people.
   - **a. the same as**
   - **b. 8 times**
   - **c. 4 times**
   - **d. 2 times**

7. Black people are 4 times as likely to be arrested on drug charges as White people, even though the two groups use drugs at almost the same rate.
   - **a. true**
   - **b. false**

8. Although the incarceration rate for Black people in the U.S. is high, it is significantly less than the incarceration rate for Black people in South Africa.
   - **a. true**
   - **b. false**

CRIME, INJUSTICE & GENOCIDE QUIZ

9. There are more Black men in prison and jails today than are attending college.
   - **a. true** **b. false**

10. It costs more to send a person to prison than to Harvard.
    - **a. true** **b. false**

11. Who benefits from the "prison & control-industrial complex"?
    - **a. inmates**
    - **b. victims**
    - **c. corporations & government**
    - **d. none of the above**

12. U.S. inmates serve shorter prison terms today than in the past.
    - **a. true** **b. false**

13. The percentage of inmates entering prison today who have been convicted of a violent crime is approximately
    - **a. 50%**
    - **b. 72%**
    - **c. 25%**
    - **d. 36%**

14. Politicians have proposed tough crime legislation because the public almost uniformly favors a "lock-em-up" solution to crime.
    - **a. true** **b. false**

15. Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch have criticized and condemned U.S. prisons for violations of the United Nations Standard Minimum Rules for the treatment of prisoners.
    - **a. true** **b. false**

16. People of color as a whole are more likely to be in prison than their numbers in the population would suggest.
    - **a. true** **b. false**

17. What region of the U.S. has the highest incarceration rate, the most people on death row, and has carried out the greatest number of executions since 1976?
    - **a. Northeast**
    - **b. South**
    - **c. West**
    - **d. Midwest**

18. By the late 1980s, the U.S. far and away led the western world in the rate of incarcerations of its own citizens.
    - **a. true** **b. false**

CRIME, INJUSTICE AND GENOCIDE QUIZ

Answers

1. **False.** See Figure 2. This graph shows that the murder rate in the U.S. was about 10 per 100,000 in 1930 and again was about 10 per 100,000 in 1990. Similarly, the murder rate was 9.3 per 100,000 in 1993, almost the same as the 9.4 rate in 1973. What is most interesting, however, is the fact that the murder rate is related to changes in the economy. It tends to increase and peak in periods of economic crisis —e.g., the great depression of the 1930s and the current period of declining wages, high unemployment and underemployment, and downsizing and restructuring. It also tends to decline and was at a low point during the economic expansion of the post-World War II period, roughly from 1950 to the early 1970s. [Source: Committee to End the Marion Lockdown, Fall 1995, "The Continuing Crime of Black Imprisonment", p. 6]

2. **e, a, d, b, c.** The number of deaths annually in the early 1990s was roughly 717,000 deaths from heart disease, 520,600 from cancer, 34,600 from occupational hazard & disease, 24,000 from violent crime, and 20,000 from inadequate emergency medical care. [Sources: Jeffrey Reiman, 1990, The Rich Get Richer and the Poor Get Prison, Boston: Allyn & Bacon, p. 80; US Bureau of the Census, 1995, Statistical Abstract of the US: 1995, p. 93-Table 126]

3. **d. Increased somewhat.** According to the Uniform Crime Report (UCR) -- which includes only crimes reported to the police -- the total crime rate went up and down between 1973 and 1992, and is higher in 1992 than in 1973. In contrast, the violent crime rate steadily and dramatically increased between 1973 and 1992. *Importantly, the crime rate tends to be higher in urban and poor neighborhoods - often where people of color are also concentrated. Recent allegations by reporter Gary Webb in the San Jose Mercury News (Aug 18-20, 1996) raise concerns about the role of the CIA in introducing drugs — especially crack cocaine — into Compton in South-Central LA, feeding drug addiction and drug dealing and the resulting crime by those living in these impoverished and abandoned communities.*

4. **d. Almost quadrupled.** In 1970 the incarceration rate was 96 per 100,000 people; in 1995 it was 404 per 100,000. Despite little or no change in the crime rate, we are putting people in prison at an altogether unprecedented rate.

5. **False.** Studies have shown that crime stems from societal causes and that higher imprisonment rates do not affect the crime rate. Similarly, it has been repeatedly shown that the death penalty does not deter murder.

6a. **b.** The rate for Blacks is approximately 8 times that of Whites.

6b. **c.** The rate for Latinos is approximately 4 times that of Whites.

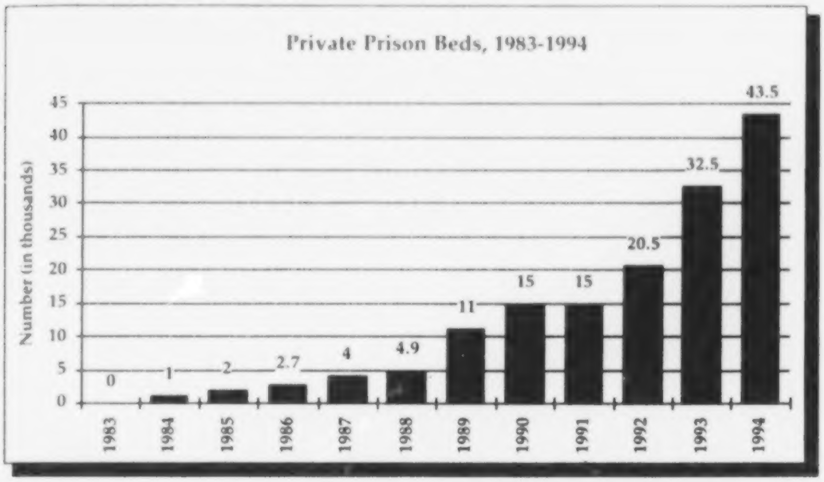
7. **True.** It is also true that the penalties are much higher for use of crack cocaine, a drug often used in poorer communities, than for powder cocaine, a drug preferred in wealthier communities.

8. **False.** In 1992, the incarceration rate for Black people in the U.S. was 4.5 times as great as that for Black people in South Africa.

9. **True.** In 1992 there were 583,000 Black men in prison and jails compared to 537,000 in college. Since that date, the margin has widened. Mauer and Huling identify the "Criminal Justice Control Rate" (CJCR) which includes those incarcerated in state and federal prisons and local jails, those on probation and on parole. The 1995 CJCR for Black men 20-29 years is 32.2%. Similar 1994 rates are 12.3% for Latino men, 6.7% for White men, 4.8% for Black women, 2.2% for Latino women, and 1.4% for White women. [Sources: Marc Mauer, 1994, "Americans Behind Bars: The International Use of Incarceration 1992-93", Washington, DC: The Sentencing Project; Marc Mauer & Tracey Huling, 1995, "Young Black Americans and the Criminal Justice System", Washington, DC: The Sentencing Project, pp. 1-4]

10. True. The extremely high cost of keeping a person in prison is almost entirely due to the physical plant and to the security measures involved, not for the needs of the prisoners. The Sentencing Project estimates the "Criminal Justice System" (CJS) cost for the 827,440 young Black men in the system in 1995 to be about $6 billion a year. The cost of incarcerating one young man in prison is roughly $35,000.00 a year. This is more than even the cost of attending elite Harvard University for 1 year. It is much more than the $5,400.00 average cost for tuition, fees, room & board in 1993 to attend a 4-year public college. From 1980 to 1995 the federal government decreased the education budget by $59 billion and increased the "corrections" budget by the same $59 billion. A coincidence? Probably not. [Sources: Mauer & Huling, 1995, p. 1; US Census, 1994, Statistical Abstract of the US: 1994, Washington, DC, p. 184 -Table 280; Joint Center for Political & Economic Studies, Oct/Nov 1995, "Focus Political Trend Letter", Washington, DC, p. 2; Common Agenda Coalition & National Priorities Project, 1995, "Creating a Common Agenda", p. 7]

11. c. Corporations & government. With the end of the "Cold War" and the Soviet threat, the "military-industrial complex" is restructuring and downsizing. But today's "prison & control-industrial complex" is more than filling the gap! Over the last 20 years, public and private spending for "crime control" has increased at more than twice the rate of military spending. In recent years $100 billion of our tax dollars are being spent each year on law enforcement. At the same time private security companies are taking in $65 billion annually. Funding for the CJS has increased 7-fold over the last 20 years, from $10 billion to $74 billion a year, including $25 billion for incarceration. In the last decade alone the government spent $34.6 billion of our tax dollars to build 1000 new prisons and jails to hold the soaring inmate population. The Corrections Corporation of America and other private prison companies are making millions of dollars in profit off of the politics of fear fueling the "prison & control-industrial complex." In 1983 these private companies were not in the prison business. But by 1994 they had $250 million in revenues and ran 88 prisons with about 50,000 inmate beds. Private facilities are growing at 4 times the rate of state facilities. This is BIG BUSINESS. Prison labor is another source of revenues. When inmates are paid as little as $.15 (15 cents) an hour compared to higher priced labor outside, the possibility for great profits is clear. Since 1990, 30 states have legalized the contracting out of prison labor to private companies. Correctional Industries Association suggests that by 2000, 30% of all state and federal inmates will work, yielding $8.9 billion in sales to those who control their labor. Norwegian criminologist Nils Christie "suggests a frightening scenario: that the raw material [of the prison-industrial complex] is prisoners, and industry will do what is necessary to guarantee a steady supply. For the supply of prisoners to grow, criminal justice policies must insure a sufficient number of incarcerated Americans regardless of whether crime is rising or not" (in Donziger, 1996, p. 87). [Sources: Steven Donziger, 1996, The Real War on Crime, NY: Harper Perennial, pp. 85-98; Bureau of Justice Statistics, 1994, Sourcebook of Criminal Justice Statistics, 1993, Washington, DC, pp. 2-3; *The Washington Post, 1995* (Aug 10), "Nation's Prison Population Soars Over 1 Million," p. A25; Reese Erlich, 1995 (Fall), "Prison Labor" in *Covert Action*; Christian Parenti, 1996 (Jan 1), "Making Prison Pay" in The Nation]



--graphic source Donziger, The Real War on Crime

12. False. Since 1923, the average length of stay for prisoners has always been about 2 years. However, because of harsher sentencing policies implemented in the 1980s and 1990s, the average length of stay is increasing.

13. c. 25 %. Most prisoners have committed crimes that involve no violence and little financial loss to the victim.

14. False. While there has been a lot of rhetoric about the need for prisons and tougher legislation, most people, when asked, do not favor incarceration for a majority of the current prison population. In a recent national poll, four out of five Americans favored community corrections programs for offenders who are not dangerous.

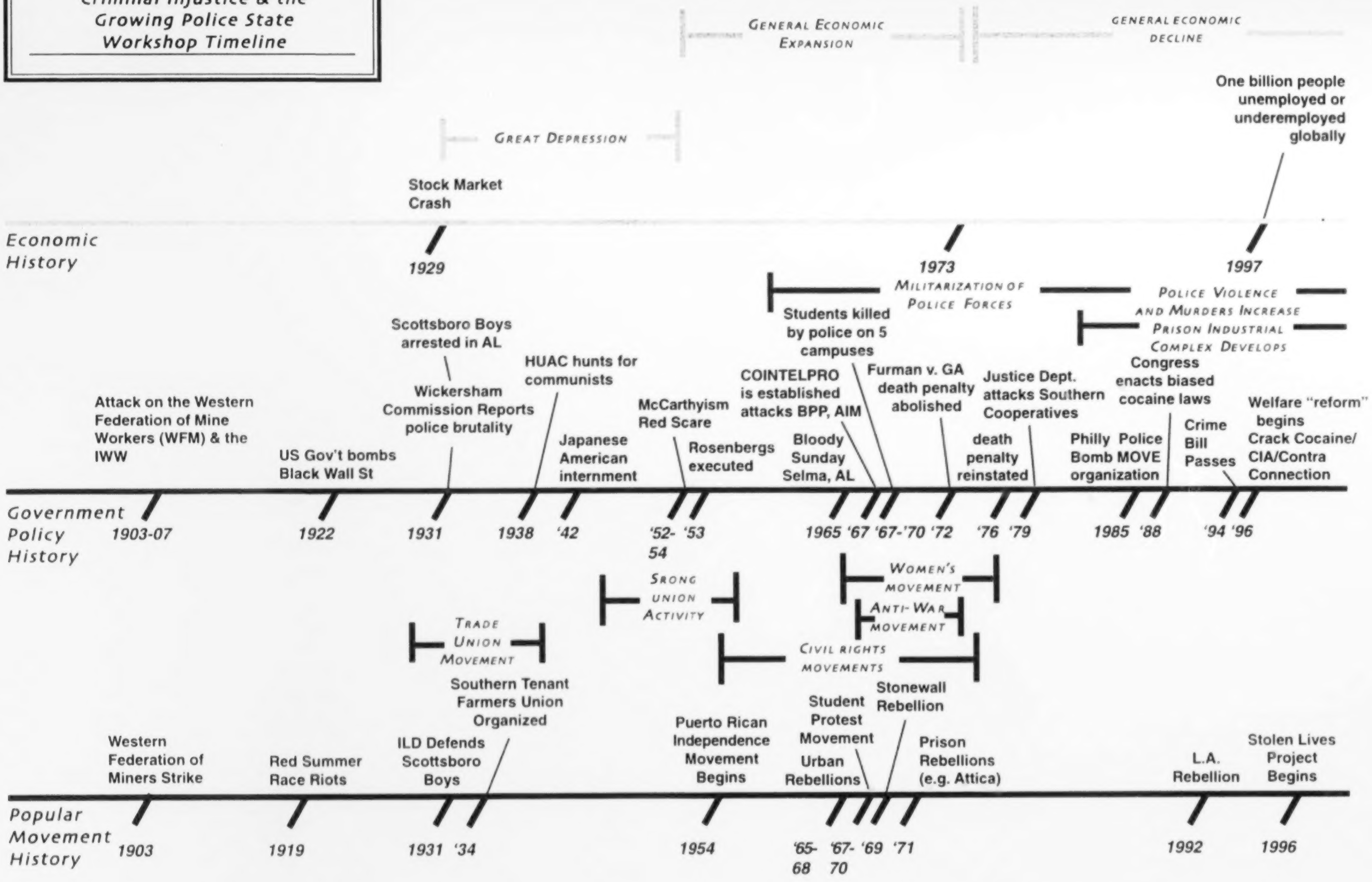
15. True. Many of the new control unit prisons in the U.S. have been cited by groups such as Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch for practicing psychological torture. These prisons, ostensibly, were created to hold violent and disruptive inmates but have also been used to hold political prisoners and to curb dissent.

16. True. In 1994, 1,053,738 people were in state and federal prisons. Blacks are 44.1% of sentenced prisoners, but only 12% of the US population. Latinos are 17.6% of prisoners, but 10.2% of the population. "Other" prisoners of color — American Indians, Alaska Natives, Asians and Pacific Islanders — are 2.6% of prisoners and 4.2% of the population. But, it can be argued that American Indians, forcibly relocated onto the reservations and/or denied the legal right to practice their traditional religion and culture, are already experiencing a form of imprisonment. Also, by 1994 there were 18,929 noncitizens in federal prisons (up from 4,088 in 1984). In contrast, Whites are 35.8% of prisoners and 73.6% of the population. [Sources: US Dept. of Justice Statistics, Aug. 1995, *Prisoners in 1994*, pp. 1 & 9; US Dept. of Justice Statistics, Aug 1996, *Noncitizens in the Federal Criminal Justice System*, 1984-1994, p. 1; US Bureau of the Census, 1995, Statistical Abstract of the US: 1995, Washington, DC, p. 19-Table 19]

17. b. South. The 1994 incarceration rate for federal and state prisoners in the U.S. is 387 per 100,000 residents. The regional rates are 451 in the South, 285 in the Northeast, 297 in the Midwest, and 333 in the West. Since 1976, when the death penalty was reinstated, over 5,000 people have been sentenced to death and today 3,061 remain on death row. Southern prisons hold more death row inmates than any other region. Since 1976, 330 deathrow inmates have been executed. Of these, 274 or 83% have been in the South. Some have suggested that this state of affairs is the legacy of the history of the South. This history includes the genocide of Native Americans in this region, slavery, Reconstruction and the defeat of Reconstruction, the rapid rise of white supremacy, lynchings, Jim Crow and Civil Rights struggles. Today's rash of church burnings can be added to this list. [Sources: Amnesty International, June 1996, "The Death Penalty in Georgia, Racist, Arbitrary and Unfair"; Richard Dieter, June 1996, "Twenty Years of Capital Punishment," Washington, DC: Death Penalty Information Center; Jerome Scott & Walda Katz-Fishman, 1996, "Working Paper: Race & Class Coalitions in the South", Atlanta, GA: Project South (9 Gammon Ave SW, Atlanta, GA 30315)]

18. True. By the late 1980s, the U.S. had a much higher incarceration rate than any other country in the world. In 1994, 1,053,738 inmates were in state and federal prisons and 455,500 were in local jails for a total of just over 1.5 million. Since the breakup of the Soviet Union, Russia's incarceration rate has increased and, at times, surpassed that of the U.S. Today, the U.S. and Russia continue to lead the world in imprisoning their own citizens. [Source: US Dept. of Justice Statistics, Aug. 1995, Prisoners in 1994, pp. 1-2]

Project South
Criminal Injustice & the Growing Police State Workshop Timeline



Economic History

GENERAL ECONOMIC EXPANSION

GENERAL ECONOMIC DECLINE

GREAT DEPRESSION

1929 Stock Market Crash

1973

1997 One billion people unemployed or underemployed globally

Government Policy History

MILITARIZATION OF POLICE FORCES

POLICE VIOLENCE AND MURDERS INCREASE

PRISON INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX DEVELOPS

1903-07 Attack on the Western Federation of Mine Workers (WFM) & the IWW

1922 US Gov't bombs Black Wall St

1931 Scottsboro Boys arrested in AL

1931 Wickersham Commission Reports police brutality

1938 HUAC hunts for communists

'42 Japanese American internment

'52-54 McCarthyism Red Scare

'53 Rosenbergs executed

1965 Bloody Sunday Selma, AL

'67 COINTELPRO is established attacks BPP, AIM

'67-'70 Students killed by police on 5 campuses

'72 Furman v. GA death penalty abolished

'76 death penalty reinstated

'79 Justice Dept. attacks Southern Cooperatives

1985 Philly Police Bomb MOVE organization

'88 Congress enacts biased cocaine laws

'94 Crime Bill Passes

'96 Welfare "reform" begins

'96 Crack Cocaine/CIA/Contra Connection

Popular Movement History

TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

SRONG UNION ACTIVITY

WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT

CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENTS

1903 Western Federation of Miners Strike

1919 Red Summer Race Riots

1931 ILD Defends Scottsboro Boys

'34 Southern Tenant Farmers Union Organized

1954 Puerto Rican Independence Movement Begins

'65-68 Urban Rebellions

'67-70 Student Protest Movement

'69 Stonewall Rebellion

'71 Prison Rebellions (e.g. Attica)

1992 L.A. Rebellion

1996 Stolen Lives Project Begins

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Criminal Injustice and the Growing Police State Timeline

DEVELOPED BY THE PROJECT SOUTH WORKING GROUP ON THE CRIMINAL INJUSTICE SYSTEM & THE POLICE STATE

Timeline

The colonial government (pre-1776) and the US government have been guilty of crimes against humanity. This timeline focuses on these activities within the US, though we are certainly aware of such activities throughout the hemisphere and globally.

1492-present **Genocide:** Genocide of American Indians, beginning with Columbus landing in the hemisphere in 1492 and continuing into the present. Indigenous population in western hemisphere falls from 80-100 million (40 million in US & 25 million in Mexico) to 10 million by 1600s.[1]

1619 **Slavery**: Wealthy Virginia tobacco planters enslave the first Africans in the American colonies, setting in motion a system of chattel slavery (slaves are property, but are counted as 3/5 of a person).

1790 **There are 750,000 slaves**, mostly in the South, and by 1860 there are 4.4 million African Americans, 90% in the South and almost 90% are slaves.[2] In total, roughly 50 million Africans are forcibly taken from Africa, 10-15 million survive the middle passage to be enslaved throughout the Americas.[3]

1816-1858 **Seminole Wars**

1830-1840 **Indian Removal Act:** President Andrew Jackson signs Indian Removal Act in 1830. By 1840, 70,000 American Indians in the Southeast (GA, AL, MS, & FL) are forced to march in Trail of Tears to west of the Mississippi River (OK, AK, KS); thousands are killed during the march.

1831 **Nat Turner's Rebellion:** Nat Turner's rebellion on Aug 22 against his master, Joseph Travis, in Southhampton City, VA results in 67 deaths and sends terror throughout the slave-owning South. Turner and his rebel slave forces are captured. Turner & 18 others are convicted and hanged.

1845-1860s **Urban Police Forces:** The growth of cities, including slave and immigrant populations, results in the formation of police forces in all major US cities and in many smaller ones by the mid-1860s. They are formed in NYC (1845), New Orleans & Cincinnati ('52), Boston & Philly ('54) and Chicago ('55).[4]

1846-1848 **Mexican War:** The Treaty of Guadelupe-Hildalgo in 1848 ends hostilities and cedes to the US what becomes the American Southwest for $15 million. Mexicans were now "illegal" in their own land. [5]

1857 **Dred Scott Decision:** The Dred Scott Decision, issued by Chief Justice Roger Taney, declares that Blacks, both free and slave, are not citizens, and cannot sue in the federal courts. Taney writes that Blacks "had no rights which a White man was bound to respect." This decision makes the Civil War inevitable.[6]

1859 **John Brown's Raid:** Radical abolitionist John Brown, along with 5 Black and 16 White abolitionists, leads a raid against the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry, VA on Oct. 16 to get arms for a slave insurrection. Col. Robert E. Lee rushes to Harpers Ferry, retakes the arsenal, killing 10 of the men and capturing Brown. Virginia charges Brown with treason, conspiracy, and murder, and executes him on Dec 2. The Civil War is even more inevitable.

1864 **Resurgent Labor Under Attack:** A growing labor movement, growing from a few thousand in 1861 to 200,000 union members in 1864, brings about strong anti-labor activity on the part of employers. President Lincoln intervenes to avert further strikes and use of the military. One employer tells union organizer William H. Sylvis: "A spirit of retaliation has been aroused in . . . every employer, . . . now being manifested in the widespread and universal organization of capitalists for the avowed purpose of destroying your unions."[7]

1865-1866 **Black Codes:** Though the industrial North defeated the slave owning South in the Civil War in 1865, the northern section of the ruling class hesitates about what to do with the freed men and women. The old confederacy is definitive; they pass the Black Codes (e.g., prohibiting Blacks from entering into contracts, suing, etc.), attempting to return Blacks to a state of servitude to insure a plentiful supply of cheap agricultural labor.

1866 **Ku Klux Klan:** Founded in Pulaski, TN by rich landowners and ex-confederate soldiers.

1866-1891 **Indian Wars:** The US military, having won the Civil War, focuses its attention on the ongoing physical extermination and spiritual genocide of Native Americans, and continues the policy of concentrating all remaining Indians in the West onto reservations. The US, greedy for the Black Hills, in violation of treaty agreements forces the Lakota councils to defend the right to their land. On June 25, 1876, Crazy Horse leads Lakota and Cheyenne warriors in the stinging defeat of Custer and his men at Little Big Horn; and along with Red Cloud, also of the Oglala Lakota, delivers yet another great defeat to the US Army. In the closing decade of the 19th century, the US 7th Cavalry assassinates Hunkpapa chief Sitting Bull. Following this, chief Red Cloud invites Miniconjou chief Big Foot to Pine Ridge. Big Foot and 350 followers camp near Wounded Knee Creek, where the 7th Cavalry massacres Big Foot and 300 mostly Minconjou on Dec 28, 1890. Those remaining formally surrender on Jan 15, 1891.[8] In the late 1960s Pine Ridge is the site of resurgent Indian struggles.

1877 **Great Railroad Strike**: Railroad workers in Martinsburg, WV go out on strike on July 17 against the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, which has cut their wages for the 2nd time in a year in an effort to make up for the economic crisis of 1873. Sympathy strikes and work stoppages take place throughout the country.

1877-1900 **Defeat of Reconstruction:** The Hayes-Tilden Compromise of 1877 and the withdrawal of federal troops from the South set in motion the ratification of Jim Crow constitutions & states rights throughout the South. From 1882-1900, 2,833 persons are lynched—1,726 Blacks & 1,107 Whites. Blacks, denied 40 acres & a mule, are forced into slave-like conditions as sharecroppers, tenant farmers & convict labor.

1880s-1964 **Jim Crow Era:** Lasts until the modern Civil Rights Movement of the 1950s & 1960s.

1886-1887 **Haymarket Affair:** Workers throughout the US engage in a massive labor strike for an 8-hour work day on May 1, 1886. On May 4 in Haymarket Square in Chicago, workers & supporters rally to protest police attack on strikers. Police kill demonstrators & a bomb is thrown that kills a policeman. Eight labor leaders (7 foreign born and Albert Parsons) are charged with conspiracy & 5 of them, including Parsons, are hung in Nov 1887.

1880s-1900 **Homestead Strike & Political Repression of Labor Organizing:** Federal & state governments increasingly charge that strikes & boycotts are criminal conspiracies & use strike injunctions to block these activities (1,845 strike injunctions are issued from 1880 to 1930). Police violence is used against striking workers and their supporters (including women & children)—in St. Louis, New Orleans, Chicago, Louisville, Nashville, NY, etc. — to break strikes & slow the pace of union organizing.[9]

1896 **Plessy v Ferguson:** In *Plessy v Ferguson* the Supreme Court upholds as constitutional "separate but equal" accommodations & facilities for Blacks—schools, public facilities, hotels, restaurants, & conveyances (transportation vehicles). The separate but equal doctrine establishes rigid *de jure* (legal) segregation that even to this day often exists defacto despite changes in the law.

1898 **Spanish American War:** On Feb 15 the US Navy battleship *Maine* explodes while at anchor, catapulting the nation into armed conflict with Spain. Though it is now widely believed that the explosion was a result of mechanical malfunctions, US interests in Cuba (i.e., sugar plantations) are sufficient for a declaration of war by Congress. US military action results in Spain turning over to the US Guam, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines for $20 million. In addition, the US annexes Hawaii in July 1898.

1903-1907 **Western Federation of Miners (WFM) & Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) Under Attack:** The radical and militant organizing & strike activities of the WFM in Colorado are met with violent suppression by the state militia, declarations of martial law, brutal rounding up of members in local bull pens, and mass deportations. Militia Lt. McClelland says, "To hell with the constitution: we aren't going by the constitution." From 1902-04, 180 union men are killed, 1,651 are injured, and over 5,000 are arrested, fatally undermining the WFM. WFM leader William "Big Bill" Haywood along with United Mine Workers organizer Mary Harris "Mother" Jones, Socialist Party leader Eugene Debs & others found the IWW (the Wobblies) in 1905. Attacked by vigilantes and prosecuted by federal agents for espionage, sedition, and criminal conspiracy, the IWW is also ultimately destroyed.[10]

1904-present **Parchman Farm Worse than Slavery:** Parchman Farm (now Parchman State Penitentiary) in Parchman, MS means forced prison labor, brutality & torture, and political prisoners. Established in 1904, by 1905 it makes a profit of $185,000, and in 1918 makes a profit of $825,000 – the most profitable prison farming at that time, at $800 profit per working prisoner. Murders, rapes, beatings, and tortures at Parchman from 1969-1971 are the basis of *Gates v Collier*, a key case in the prisoner rights movement. [11]

1917-1918 **Repression of Anti-War Activism & Political Radicalism and WW I:** Congress passes the *Espionage Act* of June 15, 1917 and the *Sedition Act* of May 16, 1918; and on Apr 6, 1917 President Wilson establishes regulations for the conduct and control of enemy aliens under the Alien Enemies Act of 1798 to suppress any anti-war sentiment (including conscientious objection). Over 1,000 are convicted; over 100 are sentenced to jail terms of 10+ years; and none are ever convicted of actual spy activities. [12]

1919 **Red Summer:** 25 race riots occur between June and December. The KKK marches in 27 states (NY, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, & other northern cities as well as in the South) in over 200 public events. 70 Blacks are lynched, including 10 WW I soldiers still in uniform. [13]

1920 **Palmer Raids**: On Jan 2, US Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer launches the "red scare." J. Edgar Hoover, named by Palmer to head the General Intelligence Division, amasses files of over 60,000 "dangerous" people and groups.[14]

1922 **Government Bombs Black Wall Street:** Black Wall Street is a thriving community adjacent to Tulsa, OK. In 1922 the US government drops bomb on Black Wall Street.

1924 **The Johnson-Reed Act** even further restricts immigration from Europe and Asia and sets the tone for anti-immigrant attitudes and practices for the 20th century.

1927 **Sacco & Vanzetti Executed:** Sacco & Vanzetti, Italian anarchists, are executed allegedly for the 1920 Massachusetts robbery in which 2 men were killed, despite evidence of their innocence and international pleas for clemency. It is more likely that they are executed primarily because they are anarchists & foreigners.

1931 **Wickersham Commission Report:** The National Commission on Law Enforcement and Observance (Wickersham Report) documents & condemns police brutality & misconduct, especially the use of the extreme force. It calls for training & education for police officers and for protecting police chiefs from political manipulation.[15]

1931 **Scottsboro Boys**: On Mar 25, 9 Black men, aged 13 to 21, arrested in Alabama for allegedly raping 2 White women riding on the same train, are convicted of rape and sentenced to die in the electric chair within 2 weeks. The International Labor Defense appeals their case to the Supreme Court, which overturns the convictions and orders a new trial. They are again tried in Alabama before an all White jury, are again convicted, and the Supreme Court again overturns the convictions because of denial of due process. 5 of the defendants are tried a 3rd time (charges dropped against the other 4), and all 5 receive long prison terms.[16]

1935 **Wagner Act Omissions:** Wagner Act extends Bill of Rights (freedom of speech, press & assembly) to American labor whose most radical elements are already repressed and destroyed. The right to organize, enter into contracts & strike are extended primarily to industrial workers. By omission it excludes large sectors of the working class, e.g., agricultural workers (where most Blacks & and many Latinos will be), restaurant workers & government workers.

1935-1936 Southern Tenant Farmers Union Attacked: Black & White tenant farmers and sharecroppers organize the STFU in 1934 in Arkansas. They strike over land reform, better working conditions & higher wages. Strike leaders are arrested, jailed & forced into convict farm labor for 75 cents per day. The Earle Town sheriff arrests 13 strikers and forces them into peonage (he is later arrested and punished). In May 1936, they strike again to raise wages from 70 cents to $1 per day. The governor sends in troops, planters bring in strike breakers, and Rev. Bennett, the union officer, is beaten to death.[17]

1938 **Dies Committee Hunts for Communists:** Rep Martin Dies chairs the House Un-American Activities Committee (Dies Committee or HUAC) established in May to monitor "un-American" activities; it targets radical left and communist activities.[18]

1942 **Japanese American Internment:** President Roosevelt (FDR) signs exec order 9066 on Feb 19 requiring Japanese Americans, both citizens & non-citizens, living within 200 miles of the pacific coast to evacuate their homes and go to 10 internment camps for the duration of the war. More than 100,000 (of a total of 120,000 throughout the US) are interned. In 1988, Congress appropriates funds to pay $20,000 in reparations to each of the surviving 60,000 internees.

1947 **Taft-Hartley Act Further Represses Labor:** Congress overrides Truman's veto and passes an anti-labor act. It bans the closed (union) shop - thus allowing states to pass "right to work" laws, expands injunctions on strikes affecting "national welfare," bans secondary boycotts & jurisdictional strikes, and requires all union officials to sign an affidavit that they are "not a member of the communist party... etc." Strikes drop 40% & then drop in 1949-50 to their lowest point since WW II.[19]

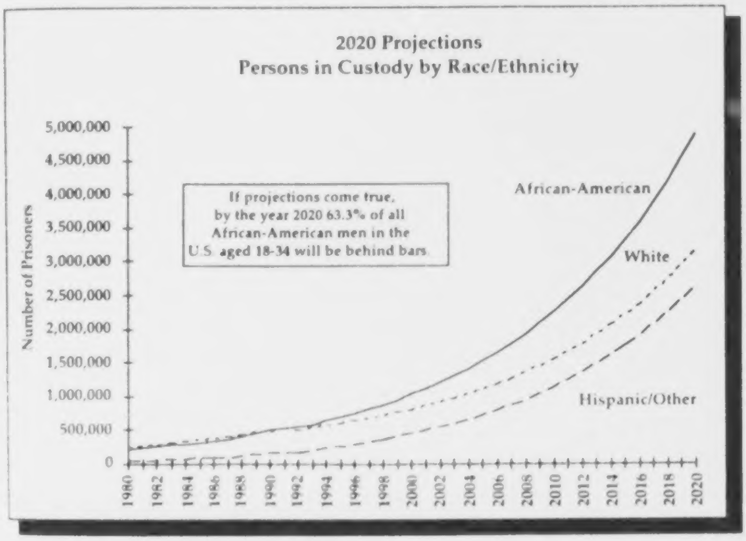
1950 **McCarthy's "Witch Hunts":** Sen. Joseph McCarthy holds 479 days of hearings from 1949-1954 to hunt for communists and other subversives and to expose, condemn & punish these individuals without any benefit of due process. With the blessings of FBI Dir J. Edgar Hoover, McCarthy's hunt for "reds" in government, in Hollywood, in schools & universities, and in other industries results in hundreds of people being fired & blacklisted—careers, families & lives ruined. An atmosphere of fear spreads throughout the country, with a chilling effect on communist, radical & even liberal organizations and ideologies. Artists & intellectuals are censored & engage in self-censorship.[20]

1953 **Rosenbergs Executed for Espionage:** The hysteria of the "red scare" and McCarthyism are transformed into the ongoing politics of fear of the Cold War. Ethel & Julius Rosenberg, caught up in the web of anti-communism and some would say anti-semitism, are accused of passing atomic secrets to the Soviet Union. They do not deny their history of communist affiliation but plead innocent to charges of conspiring to obtain national defense information for the Soviets. They are found guilty of espionage and sentenced to death. [21]

1954-present **Puerto Rican Independence Denied:** On Mar 14, Rafael Cancel Miranda, Irving Flores, Andres Cordero & Lolita Lebron enter the US House of Representatives, armed and holding the PR flag and open fire on the US Congress. Lebron, who was imprisoned but is now out, represents the PR movement before the UN Decolonization Committee.[22]

1954-1968 **Modern Civil Rights Movements & Repression:** *Brown v Board of Education* ushers in the final phase of the modern civil rights movement and with it repression of movement activists as well as bystanders. From the Montgomery bus boycott to lunch-counter sit-ins to freedom rides; to Birmingham to Albany, GA; to the Selma - Montgomery march – protesters and marchers are at the receiving end of state terror (clubs, hoses, tear gas, dogs, guns, prisons, torture & death).

1965 **Bloody Sunday:** On Mar 7 in Selma, AL, 200 state troopers and possemen from Dallas County Sheriff's office meet 600 demonstrators led by John Lewis of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) with tear gas, night sticks & whips as they attempt to cross the Edmund Pettus Bridge. State troopers on horseback club demonstrators with clouds of tear gas floating above.



2020 Projections
Persons in Custody by Race/Ethnicity

If projections come true, by the year 2020 63.3% of all African-American men in the U.S. aged 18-34 will be behind bars.

1960-present **COINTELPROs & BPP:** COINTELPROs are FBI domestic Counterintelligence Programs, developed to destroy individuals & organizations considered to be politically objectionable by the FBI. The primary target of COINTELPRO in this period is the Black Power Movement, especially the **Black Panther Party** (BPP). The assassination of Black Panther Fred Hampton, the violent police attack on anti-Vietnam War & Black radical demonstrators at the **1968 Democratic Convention in Chicago**, the incarceration of BPP field marshal George Jackson (assassinated in San Quentin prison in 1971), the incarceration of Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) in San Quentin (released in 1997), and the arrest & imprisonment of Assata Shakur (who now lives in exile in Cuba) & Sundiata Acoli, represent some major cases of state repression of this period.

1968-present **COINTELPROs & AIM:** The American Indian Movement (AIM) is founded in 1968 in response to persistent government violations of treaty rights and to assert community control over American Indian lands and lives. Personnel at the FBI office in Rapid City responsible for Pine Ridge goes from 2 to more than 50, including a 10-man SWAT team, by 1975. From mid-1973 to late 1976, sixty-nine (69) AIM members and supporters die violently on and around Pine Ridge and 300 or more are assaulted and in many cases are shot by anti-AIM forces on the reservations. The FBI uses its usual arsenal of COINTELPRO weapons: assassinations, bad-jacketing, informers, infiltrators, agent provocateurs, misinformation campaigns, perjury & fabrication of evidence. No investigations are ever made into these murders.[23]

1965-1968 **Urban Rebellions & Police Violence:** Urban rebellions in response to intolerable conditions of poverty & injustice occur throughout the US. The most well known are Watts ('65), NYC & Chicago ('66), Detroit & Newark ('67) and Washington, DC. ('68.) In the spring of 1968, following the assassination of Martin Luther King in Memphis, over 100 cities rebel. Police brutality is often part of the provocation and, along with National Guard troops, is used to quell the rebellions. *The Kerner Commission Report* acknowledges police violence & harassment as well as racial makeup of police forces and calls for police reform.

1960s-present **Militarization of Police—SWAT Teams on the Homefront:** In 1995, 89% of police departments in US cities (of 50,000 or more) have police paramilitary units, more popularly called SWAT teams. This escalation in number from virtually none in 1960 is clearly the state's response to the rebellions & unrest beginning in the 1960s. [24]

1967-1970 **From Jackson State to Kent State—Students Gunned Downed:** The student protest movement across the country is met with violent repression & death. The first killing is at Jackson State College in MS in May, 1967. In Feb 1968, at SC State College, 3 students are killed & 28 injured. The patrolmen are acquitted & promoted. In May 1969 - Berkeley, CA - 1 student is killed, 1 blinded and 200 injured. Also in May 1969 at NC A&M, the police shoot & kill 1 student. The most well known of attacks takes place on Mar 4 at Kent State. Four students are killed and nine others shot while protesting the Vietnam War. The Presidential Commission on Campus Unrest calls the shootings "unnecessary, unwarranted, and inexcusable." No legal action is taken against the guardsmen.[25]

1971 **Attica & Other Prison Rebellions:** From 1950 to 1953 over 50 major prison rebellions took place in the US. San Quentin, CA was the site of several rebellions in the late 1960s. In Nov 1970, inmates at Folsom Prison in CA start the longest prison strike in US history (19 days). Responding to the Aug 1971 assassination of George Jackson, inmates at Attica Prison, NY, launch what is known as the bloodiest rebellion in US history on Sep 9. The prisoners gain control of prison yards, take 40 guards hostage & issue their reform demands. Citizen observers are invited by the prisoners into the compound to witness & record events. Gov. Nelson Rockefeller, after 5 days, approves a military attack on the prison—helicopters, tear gas & National Guardsmen, prison guards & police armed with automatic rifles, carbines & sub-machine guns. 31 prisoners and 9 guards are killed. All die in the same hail of bullets. [26]

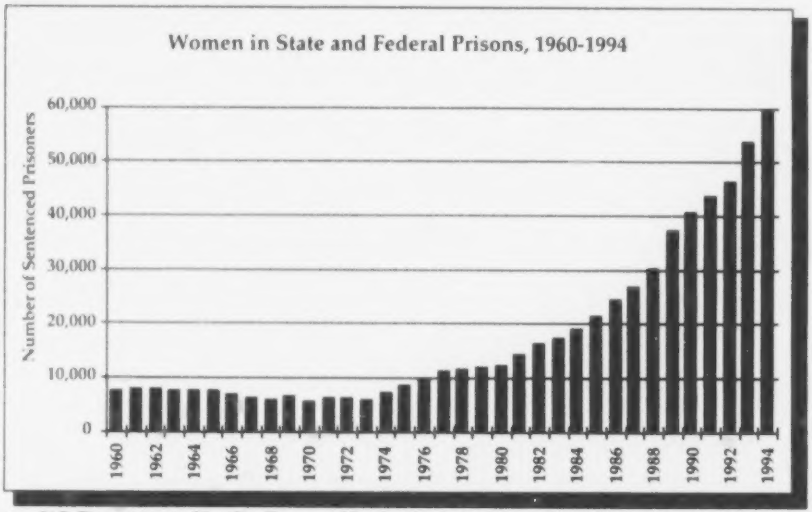
1972-present **Marion Lockdown & Others:** In 1963, shortly after the infamous Alcatraz Prison closes, the U.S. Penitentiary at Marion, IL opens. Since that time the increasingly inhumane treatment of prisoners at Marion accelerates. In response to the bloody rebellion at Attica Prison in 1971, one wing of Marion is turned into a control unit in 1972. In 1983 the entire prison is locked down and turned into a single huge control unit. The Bureau of Prisons announces that the "mission of Marion" will be moved to a new prison to be constructed in Florence, CO. Florence penitentiary opens in 1994 as a high-tech dungeon called an administrative maximum (ADX). Marion is still operating under lockdown conditions, and control units are proliferating in the state prison systems across the country. [27]

1975 **"Oglala firefight":** On Jun 26, 1975. FBI agents Coler & Williams are killed. There is a massive frame-up and miscarriage of justice in a Mar 21, 1977 trial, in which **Leonard Peltier** is found guilty of their murders and sentenced to 2 life terms. Upon conviction Peltier is sent directly to a super-maximum security prison at Marion, IL and in 1985 is moved to the standard maximum security prison at Leavnworth, KS. Peltier, along with Mumia Abu Jamal, is among America's most renowned political prisoners.[23]

1976 **Reinstatement of Death Penalty:** Since 1976 the states have executed 358 individuals, all men, almost all low income, and disproportionately African American & Latino. Racial discrimination in the application of the death penalty is so great today that even the American Bar Association (ABA) has called for its suspension until guidelines to eliminate this discrimination are developed. At the same time the Supreme Court rules (1997) to curb the appeals process for death row inmates. Activists & organizations are calling for the abolition of the death penalty.

1979 **Justice Dept. Attacks the Federation of Southern Cooperatives:** The FSC in Epes, AL is an important community organization that supports small Black & other farmers across the South & also helps develop indigenous Black & progressive leadership to challenge the political control of the "good ol' boys" network that has held power in the South since the Jim Crow era. On Dec 31, 1979, the Justice Department, inspired by that White conservative network, brings indictments against the FSC for alleged misuse of federal funds. No misuse of funds is ever found. The community has been intimidated, the work of the FSC is disrupted & the FSC is weakened.[28]

1980s-present **Repressive Laws & the Prison Industrial Complex:** Despite crime rates which remain stable or decline, the number of prisoners rises dramatically. The US federal & state prison population balloons from 329,821 to 1,104,074 from 1980-1995—a 235% rise. Women's incarceration rate is increasing at a faster rate than men's. If the jail population is included, roughly 100,000 women are behind bars on any given day in the US. Increasingly repressive laws are enacted: drug laws, including much stiffer penalties for crack cocaine than for powdered cocaine; anti-youth & anti-gang laws, anti-homeless laws; 3 strikes & mandatory sentences. 1 in 3 young Black men 20-29 years old is in the criminal justice system (in state or federal prisons or local jails, on probation, or on parole). In the last decade the government spent about $35 billion of our tax dollars to build 1,000 new prisons & jails. Prison privatization, led by Corrections Corp. of America, is making millions in profits from the construction & operation of prisons and from prison labor industries.[29]



Source: U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics (1994), *Sourcebook of Criminal Justice Statistics, 1993,* p. 600; U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics (August 1995), *Prisoners in 1994,* p. 5, Table 5.

1980s-present Police Violence & Brutality: Police & border patrol violence & brutality escalates, especially against Blacks & Latinos. Among notable incidents are the following:

- Police kill **Arthur McDuffie** in Liberty City, Miami (Dec 17, 1979). McDuffie, riding a motorcycle, gives the "finger" to a police officer; the officer gives chase and is joined by a dozen patrol cars; 6 White officers "jump" McDuffie, splitting his head open. McDuffie dies and the officers are acquitted by an all White jury. Liberty City riots and 18 people die.
- NY Police kill **Eleanor Bumpurs** (Oct 1984) a 67-year old grandmother resisting eviction from her Bronx, NY apartment for being $96.85 behind in rent. Officer Sullivan is found not guilty.
- Police (6 Whites & 1 Black) beat **Malice Green** to death with metal flashlights in Detroit in the early 1990s. 2 of the officers are convicted of murder and sentenced to terms of 8-25 years.
- Police kill **Jonny Gammage** (Oct 1995) in suburban Pittsburgh after stopping him for a traffic violation. Five White officers brutalize & beat him with a flashlight; he dies 4 days later.

1982 **Mumia Abu-Jamal: Live from Death Row:** Mumia Abu-Jamal found guilty of killing a Philadelphia police officer. Mumia is driving a taxi on Dec 9, 1981 at 4 AM when he sees a cop beating a Black man. Mumia sees the man is his brother and stops to help him. Mumia is shot in the chest and the police officer, Daniel Faulkner, is shot and killed. Mumia is arrested & tried for the death of Faulkner. Today Mumia is still "live from death row," but faces execution at any time. Mumia, his legal team & an international ground swell of supporters continue to fight for a new & fair trial. Mumia is perhaps the most renowned political prisoner in America today.

1984-1986 **FBI Attacks Leaders in Alabama Black Belt:** Black & some White progressives are gaining control of the Alabama Democratic Party. The old guard White power structure calls on the FBI to bring charges against these rising leaders (in the Alabama New South Coalition) for alleged vote fraud, especially in the use of absentee ballots. Once again, no vote fraud is found, but the FBI uses $2 million (the most ever in a vote fraud case) to try to break the new political forces and to intimidate their base among very poor & rural Black residents of the Alabama Black Belt.[31]

1985 **Philadelphia Police Bomb MOVE:** On May 13, Philadelphia Mayor Wilson Goode issues the order to the Philadelphia Police Dept. to bomb 6221 Osage Ave, the home of MOVE, a Black radical group. The bomb kills 11 MOVE members (6 adults & 5 children), destroys 61 row homes and leaves 250 people homeless. Goode's actions are met with near unanimous approval from mayors & political leaders from around the country, including US Attorney General Ed Meese.[32]

1988 **Federal Cocaine Laws:** Congress enacts mandatory minimum cocaine laws. Federal sentencing laws equate one gram of crack cocaine to 100 grams of powder cocaine. In 1993, Bureau of Justice statistics reported that 83% of people being sent to jail for "crack" trafficking are African Americans and the average sentence was twice as long as for trafficking powdered cocaine.

1991-1992 **Police Beating of Rodney King & LA Rebellion**: On Mar 3, 4 White LA police officers brutally beat Rodney King. The beating is videotaped, and broadcasts of the video transform official & unofficial responses to the beating. The video evidence forces the LAPD to indict the 4 officers, but they are acquitted of all but a single charge against Powell. The verdict causes the LA rebellion, though the underlying structural injustices and new oppressive realities fuel it. The rebellion lasts 5 days, resulting in over 50 deaths, 2,382 injuries, 40,000 lost jobs, an estimated $1 billion in property damage & more than 5,633 citizens arrested.

1994 **New CrimeBill:** Congress passed the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994 – the largest crime bill in the history of the country. It included several measures that increase the repressive nature of our criminal injustice system, including: funding for 100,000 new police officers, $9.7 billion for prisons, and more agressive and severe treatment of undocumented people.

1994 **Three Strikes and You're Out:** California voters approve a ballot initiative (Proposition 184) which dictates that people who are convicted of three felonies can be sentenced to life in prison. Other states have adopted the "Three Strike " law and some have adopted a "Two Strike" version.

1996 **CIA, Crack Cocaine Epidemic & the Contras:** Gary Webb, reporter at the San Jose Mercury News, writes "Dark Alliance: The Story Behind the Crack Explosion" documenting CIA involvement in the link between a gang of Nicaraguan drug dealers, the Contras (CIA-backed counterrevolutionaries), and the spread of crack cocaine in Los Angeles, CA & the country. (http://www.sjmercury.com/drugs/)

1996-future **Welfare Repeal & Escalation of War on the Poor:** "Personal Responsibility & Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act" passes, ending welfare as an entitlement and escalating the war on the poor & working people. A new phase of the struggle for human rights & for economic & political democracy for all people unfolds.

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7. Richard Boyer & Herbert Morais. 1984. Labor's Untold Story. New York: United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers of America (UE) (p. 26-27).
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9. Kappeler et.al. Forces of Deviances; Robert Goldstein. 1978. Political Repression in Modern America. New York: Schenkman.
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29. Steven R. Donzinger (ed.). 1996. The Real War on Crime: The Report of the National Criminal Justice Commission. NY: Harper Collins; John Irwin & James Austin. 1997. It's About Time: America's Imprisonment Binge. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing; Marc Mauer & Tracey Huling. 1995. *Young Black Americans and the Criminal Justice System*. Washington, DC: The Sentencing Project.
30. Kappeler et.al.; Patricia J. Williams. 1991. The Alchemy of Race and Rights. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press.
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Critical Questions: Criminal Injustice & the Growing Police State

- How have changes in the economy throughout US history affected changes in state policy toward social control and the criminal injustice system? (Don't forget today's global economy.)

- How do differences of race, class, nationality, immigrant status & gender affect people's experiences with the state and the criminal injustice system?

- How has the history of state repression of radical activists and state violence toward them (e.g., American Indians, African Americans, Puerto Ricans, Latinos, Asian & Pacific Islanders, labor, etc.) influenced the consciousness of the peoples in the U.S. and their social movements for economic, political and social democracy?

- Why is today's prison population soaring, especially when crime is not increasing?

- Women are the fastest growing group of prison inmates. Why is this happening? What, if any, affect will welfare elimination have on women in prison and the criminal injustice system?

Criminal Injustice & the Growing Police State Resource Guide

Top 5 books

General history books that are accessible & useful for criminal injustice information:

- Alexrod, A. & C. Phillips. 1992. **What Every American Should Know About American History**. Holbrook, MA: Bob Adams, Inc.
- Zinn, H. 1995. **A People's History of the United States, 1492-Present**. New York: Harper Perennial.

Books that cover different aspects of criminal injustice & the police state:

- Donziger, S. (ed.). 1996. **The Real War on Crime: Report of the National Criminal Justice Commission**. New York: Harper Perennial. Focuses on the 1980s and 1990s, providing data and discussion of crime policy; prisons & the prison industrial complex; youth, race, gender; policing; the courts; and recommendations for improvement.
- Goldstein, R. J. 1978. **Political Repression in Modern America: 1870 to the Present**. New York: Schenkman. Provides a vast amount of information about all types of political repression from 1870 to 1970s, but is very strong on labor issues and anti-communism.
- Kappeler, V., R. Sluder & G. Alpert. 1994. **Forces of Deviance: Understanding the Dark Side of Policing**. Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press. Discusses the history of policing, including police brutality.

Other books that are very good, but are more specialized...

- Abu-Jamal, M. 1996. **Live from Death Row**. New York: Avon. A powerful commentary about death row, as well as the entire criminal injustice system. Written by a death row inmate and political prisoner.
- Churchill, W. & J. Vander Wall. 1988. **Agents of Repression: The FBI's Secret War Against the Black Panther Party and the American Indian Movement**. Boston: South End. Looks in great detail at the COINTELPROs used to infiltrate, disrupt & destroy radical Black & Native American groups.
- Irwin, J. & J. Austin. 1997. **It's About Time: America's Imprisonment Binge**. Provides up to date data on the prison system. Belmont, CA. Wadsworth Publishing Co.
- Miller, J. 1996. **Search and Destroy: African American Males in the Criminal Justice System**. Cambridge: Cambridge U Press. Looks at the disproportionate and negative impact of the criminal justice system on Black men.
- Oshinsky, D. 1996. **Worse Than Slavery: Parchman Farm and the Ordeal of Jim Crow Justice**. New York: Free Press. Exposes the combined terror of Jim Crow & the prison system embodied in Parchman Farm in Parchman, MS.

> *"The target group most affected by increased incarceration are African-Americans, who account for almost 50% of the people in prison, even though they represent less than 13% of the population."*
>
> --source: Ethnicity, Race, and Crime by Darnell F. Hawkins

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The Changing Face of Healthcare

Changing Face of Healthcare \ period... It's try to anticipate a social movement, and if it turns out you're right, then you'll be on the inside of a movement, helping with mobilization and strategies, instead of the outside jumping on the bandwagon and never being an important part of it. You try to figure out what's going to happen so that you can position yourself in such a way as to become a of it: you do things in advance to prepare the groundwork for a larger movement. ay, you're built into it when the momentum begins... It's like learning to ride reighttrains

Right now we're in wha

...Right now we're in what I call an organizational period...It's completely different from what happens when there is a social movement. You try to figure out what's going to happen so that you can position yourself in such a way as to become a part of it: you do things in advance to prepare the groundwork for a larger movement. That way, you're built into it when the momentum begins... It's like learning to ride freight trains. Right now we're in what I call an organizational period. It's completely different from what happens when there is a social movement. It's like learning to ride freight trains...

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The Changing Face of Healthcare

Healthcare gives us the ability to live healthy and vibrant lives. Many people with health insurance consider their relationship with their doctors to be second only to close family relations.

But while the U.S. population spends more money per person on healthcare than any nation in the world, 20% of the people have no health insurance, and thus no access to quality medical care. While U.S. hospitals are stocked with the latest medical devices, more than 10 million children are forbidden access to these technologies, nor do they have a doctor.

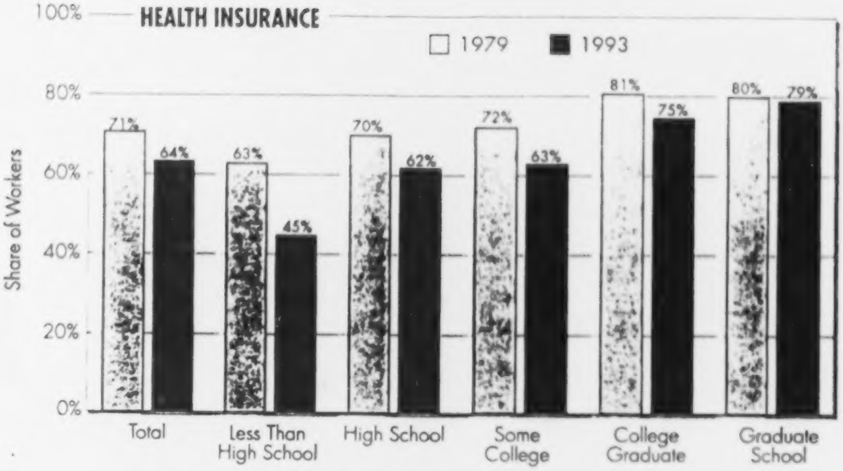
The "Changing Face of Healthcare" examines the U.S. healthcare delivery system. These tools include a small quiz that challenges our ideas about healthcare in the U.S.

The timeline covers the history of how Americans have received healthcare over time, including changes in medical technology and the development of the health insurance industry. It shows us the different ways insurance companies organize their healthcare delivery plans. Personal reflection linked to the timeline uncovers our personal histories of how we received healthcare and how we relate to the bigger picture of the healthcare industry.

The critical questions challenge participants to envision what we want our healthcare system to do. Finally, we pose the question of how we can organize a movement to create that vision.

"Racial and ethnic inequalities in health insurance access are large. Among people under age 65, 34% of all Latinos and 23% of African Americans lacked health insurance, compared with 16% of all whites. A large percentage of Latinos live in the South and West, regions where the workforce is less unionized and employers are less likely to provide health care benefits.

--source:
The War on the Poor
by Randy Albelda,
Nancy Folbre and the
Center for Popular
Economics, 1996.



--source: A Chartbook of American Living Standards
by The Economic Policy Institute

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The Changing Face of Health Care Myth Quiz

> *"The US has the best system of heathcare in the world. Unfortunately, this is only true for those who can afford it."*
> --Senator George Mitchell, D-Maine

1. Americans are the healthiest people in the world.
   True **False**

2. Managed care organizations (HMOs) do not provide the same level of care as is provided by traditional forms of health insurance.
   True **False**

3. The Kennedy- Kassebaum Bill (Health Insurance Portability & Accountability Act of 1996- HIPAA) insures that when people change jobs, their health insurance coverage goes with them.
   True **False**

4. Medicare and Medicaid are interchangeable except for the age of recipients.
   True **False**

5. Public Health policies of the United States do not safeguard the health of the American public.
   True **False**

6. All Americans have access to health insurance.
   True **False**

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HEALTH CARE QUIZ: ANSWERS

1. **False. (See tables 1 & 2)** At least 16 countries have a greater life expectancy than the United States, and there are several others where either the men or women live longer than U.S. men or women. At least 26 countries have lower infant mortality rates than the United States.

Table One

Life Expectancy (1990-1995)*

	Males	Females
Japan	76.4	82.5
Sweden	75.4	81.1
Switzerland	74.7	81.2
Australia	74.7	80.6
Spain	74.6	80.5
Canada	74.2	80.7
Italy	74.2	80.6
France	73.0	80.8
Martinique	72.9	79.4
United States	72.5	79.3

* **Source:** Statistical Yearbook of the United Nations, United Nations. New york. 1996

2. **True.** For example, cataract extraction is one of the most common surgical procedures performed on elderly patients. A recent study conducted in Southern California shows that after controlling for age, sex & diabetes mellitus status, beneficiaries of HMO's were only half as likely to have cataract surgery as those covered by traditional health insurance.

3. **False.** This bill does not "guarantee that employees may take their current health insurance with them to their next job. HIPAA simply ensures ready access to comparable coverage offered by subsequent employers... The new law accomplished this by prohibiting group health plans and issuers of group coverage from imposing a pre-existing condition exclusion that exceeds 12 months (except in cases of late enrollment) for which medical advice, diagnosis, or treatment was received or recommended within the previous six months." In addition, "the potential twelve month preexisting condition exclusion or limitation period is reduced under HIPAA by the period that the employee had prior 'creditable coverage.'" Source: *Tennessee Health Law Update*, October 1996 Vol. 3, No.1.

Table Two.

1995 Infant Mortality Rates*
(deaths per 1000 births)

4	Japan
5	Finland, Iceland, Sweden
6	Singapore, Belgium, Germany, Switzerland
7	Canada, Hong Kong, Austria, Denmark, France, Ireland, Luxemburg, Netherlands, Spain, United Kingdom, Australia
8	Reunion, Martinique, Slovenia, Brunei Darussalam, Norway, Italy, Guam
9	United States

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4. **False.** Medicare "provides health insurance coverage for people 65 and over, younger people who are receiving Social Security disability benefits (after two years on disability), and persons who need dialysis or kidney transplants for treatment of end-stage renal disease. As a Medicare beneficiary, one can choose how to receive hospital, doctor and other health care services covered by Medicare. Beneficiaries can receive care either through the traditional fee-for-service delivery system or through coordinated care plans, such as HMOs and competitive medical plans, which have contracts with Medicare."

Medicaid "is a medical assistance program jointly financed by State and Federal governments for eligible low-income individuals. Medicaid covers health care expenses for all recipients of AFDC, and most states also cover the needy elderly, blind and disabled who receive cash assistance under the SSI Program (Supplemental Security Income). Coverage is also extended to certain infants and low income pregnant women and, at the option of the State, other low-income individuals with medical bills that qualify them as categorically or medically needy."

Source: "The United States Government Manual 1996/1997," Office of the Federal Register National Archives and Records Administration.

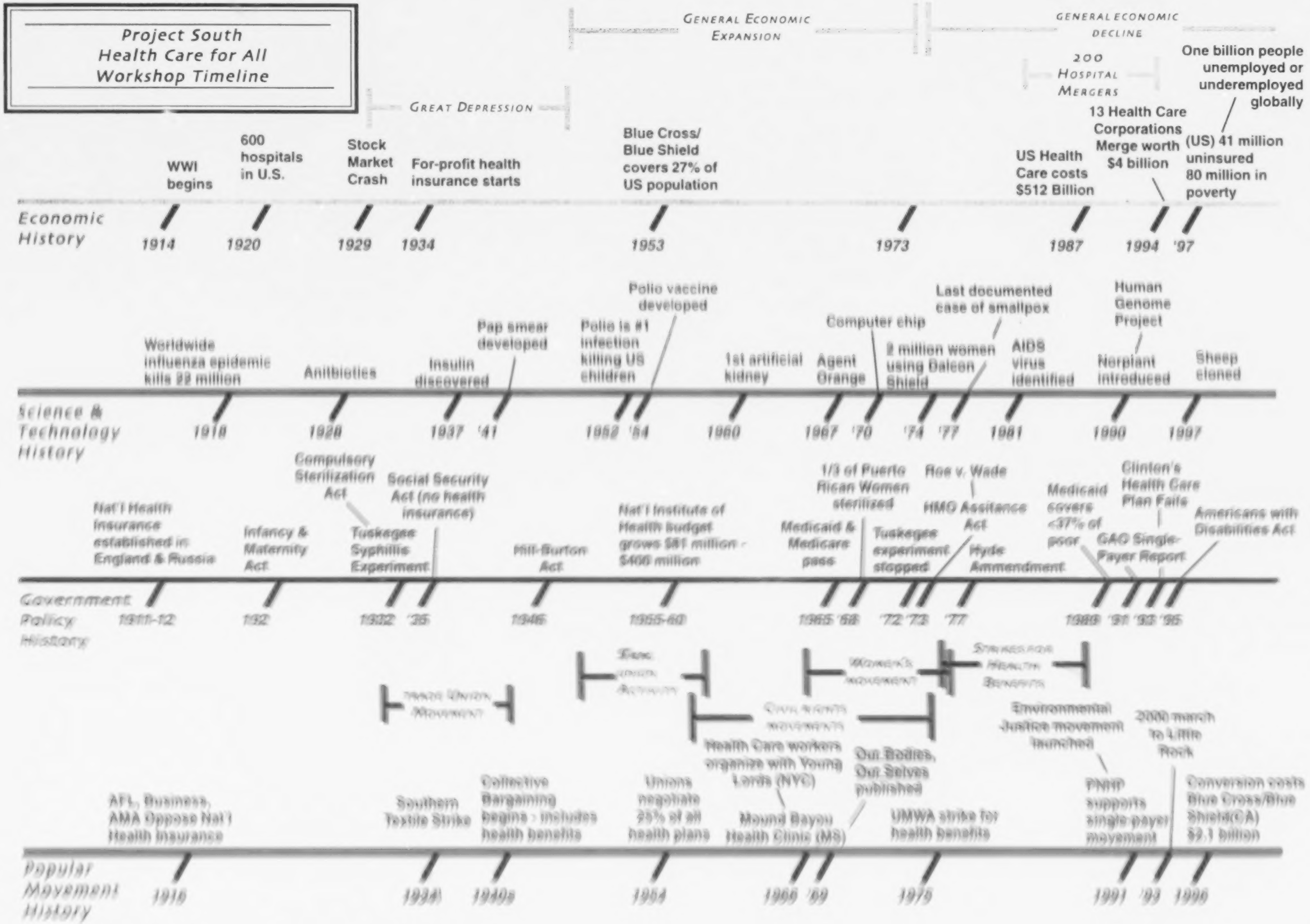
(Note: Today, the Health Care Financing Administration (HCFA), created in 1977, serves 68 million elderly, disabled, and poor Americans through Medicare and Medicaid—approximately 1/4 of the American population.)

5. **True.** In fact, some Public Health practices put the lives of Americans at great risk. Examples of this are the Tuskegee experiment and the use of Norplant and Depo-Provera for birth control. Furthermore, the Tuskegee experiment impacts the AIDS epidemic today. It is felt by some researchers that African Americans are avoiding treatment for their HIV infection because of their fear of being used as human guinea pigs as the men in the Tuskegee experiment were.

Source: "Experiment Leaves Legacy of Distrust." L. Richardson, *The New York Times,* April 21, 1997. "The Misuses of Norplant: Who Gets Stuck?" J. Washburn. *Ms.,* November/December 1996.

6. **False.** According to the Census Bureau, approximately 40 million Americans (about 1/5 of the population) do not have health insurance. 13 million are women whose children comprise another 10 million. Another 26 million women are covered by Medicaid, but because of recent welfare reform, may soon join the ranks of the uninsured. If the uninsured would organize, as a voting block " they would constitute the largest single voice whose interests might effectively compete with those of the insurance and pharmaceutical lobbies..."

Source: "Desperate Measures: A mother battles a sick system." K. Finkelstein. *On The Issues* 1997 (Spring).



Project South Health Care for All Workshop Timeline

GREAT DEPRESSION
GENERAL ECONOMIC EXPANSION
GENERAL ECONOMIC DECLINE
200 HOSPITAL MERGERS

Economic History

- 1914 — WWI begins
- 1920 — 600 hospitals in U.S.
- 1929 — Stock Market Crash
- 1934 — For-profit health insurance starts
- 1953 — Blue Cross/ Blue Shield covers 27% of US population
- 1973
- 1987 — US Health Care costs $512 Billion
- 1994 — 13 Health Care Corporations Merge worth $4 billion
- '97 — (US) 41 million uninsured 80 million in poverty; One billion people unemployed or underemployed globally

Science & Technology History

- 1918 — Worldwide influenza epidemic kills 22 million
- 1928 — Anitbiotics
- 1937 — Insulin discovered
- '41 — Pap smear developed
- 1952 — Polio is #1 infection killing US children
- '54 — Polio vaccine developed
- 1960 — 1st artificial kidney
- 1967 — Agent Orange
- '70 — Computer chip
- '74 — 2 million women using Dalcon Shield
- '77 — Last documented case of smallpox
- 1981 — AIDS virus identified
- 1990 — Norplant introduced; Human Genome Project
- 1997 — Sheep cloned

Government Policy History

- 1911-12 — Nat'l Health insurance established in England & Russia
- 192 — Infancy & Maternity Act
- 1932 — Tuskegee Syphillis Experiment; Compulsory Sterilization Act
- '35 — Social Security Act (no health insurance)
- 1946 — Hill-Burton Act
- 1955-60 — Nat'l Institute of Health budget grows $81 million - $400 million
- 1965 — Medicaid & Medicare pass
- '68 — 1/3 of Puerto Rican Women sterilized
- '72 — Tuskegee experiment stopped
- '73 — Roe v. Wade; HMO Assitance Act
- '77 — Hyde Ammendment
- 1989 — Medicaid covers <37% of poor
- '91 — GAO Single-Payer Report
- '93 — Clinton's Health Care Plan Fails
- '95 — Americans with Disabilities Act

TRADE UNION MOVEMENT
LOW UNION ACTIVITY
CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENTS
WOMEN'S MOVEMENT
STRIKES FOR HEALTH BENEFITS

Popular Movement History

- 1916 — AFL, Business, AMA Oppose Nat'l Health Insurance
- 1934 — Southern Textile Strike
- 1940s — Collective Bargaining begins - includes health benefits
- 1954 — Unions negotiate 25% of all health plans
- 1966 — Mound Bayou Health Clinic (MS); Health Care workers organize with Young Lords (NYC)
- '69 — Our Bodies, Our Selves published
- 1975 — UMWA strike for health benefits
- 1991 — PNHP supports single-payer movement; Environmental Justice movement launched
- '93 — 2000 march to Little Rock
- 1996 — Conversion costs Blue Cross/Blue Shield(CA) $2.1 billion

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The Changing Face of Healthcare Timeline

DEVELOPED BY THE PROJECT SOUTH "HEALTH CARE FOR ALL" WORKING GROUP

1714 **Fahrenheit Temperature Scale invented**

1760 **First Medical License issued:** This was before the consolidation of the profession of medicine as we know it today. There were herbalists, midwives, botanists and homeopaths. At the time society was quite rural and women often took care of the ill in their own homes/families.

1763 **First Act of Biological Warfare in the USA**: A British commander gave a Native American tribe blankets laced with smallpox while supposedly negotiating a peace treaty.

1769 **First Medical School established in Philadelphia**
1816 **Stethoscope invented**
1830 **It is cheaper to become a doctor than a farmer**
1847 **The American Medical Association (AMA) is founded**

1860-1865 **The Civil War: Sojourner Truth develops wartime nursing. A plantation doctor,** Dr. Richard Arnold, provides health care to slaves because: "to save his capital was to save his Negroes." However, the science of medicine was also used to calculate life expectancy as low as 7 years once a slave was "sold down the river" to harsh conditions in the Delta.

1861 **U.S. Sanitary Commission established** to provide "relief" to Union soldiers so that they can return to productive "industrial pursuits" after the war. Their value is calculated at "no less than $1000."

1860s **"Germ Theory" of health care introduced:** Attributed illness to germs and reduced importance of environment, sanitation, and occupational factors in illness.

1870 **200 Hospitals in the U.S.:** These were mostly for charity cases and a place for people (usually poor) to die.

1877 **1st Recorded Telephone Exchange:** Wage earners were increasingly separated from work at home or agricultural work. By 1890, women at powerlooms produced 40 times the amount of cloth as women working at home. These trends lead to an increasing reliance on doctors.

1883 **Bismarck in Germany establishes Sickness Insurance Act:** Health Insurance for all.

1885 ***Beginnings of formal nursing:*** *Following the Civil War, the National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses and the National Organization for Public Health Nursing are established.*

1880's **Epidemics:** Cholera, Typhus, and Typhoid. Yellow Fever epidemic in Florida (1888).

1890 **Massacre at Wounded Knee**
Medical Schools Established: Harvard (1871), Yale (1881), and John Hopkins (1893).

1906 **Teddy Roosevelt supports national health insurance** promoted by the American Association for Labor Legislation.

1909 **Norway establishes national health care system**
Rockefeller Foundation initiates the "Hookworm" program in North Carolina: One of the first public health programs, it was initiated because textile workers who were infected with hookworms became lethargic and were less productive.

1910 **90% of African Americans live in the South**

1911 **The Flexner Report is issued:** Among other things, it calls for a "higher class of doctors," and promotes increased costs for medical schools and fewer graduates. After the report, 5 of the 7 Negro medical schools were closed. Flexner, the author, was financed by Rockefeller, Carnegie and other corporate elite funded foundations. This report shaped today's medical practices.

1911 **England establishes National Health Insurance Act**
1912 **National Health Insurance in Russia**
1914 **WWI - U.S. Involvement:** Over 47% of men in the military have physical impairments. 550,000 out of 3.7 million are unfit to fight.

1913-1920 **U.S. intervenes in Mexico, Nicaragua, Haiti, Dominica, and Cuba:** Zapata and Pancho Villa are murdered.

1915 **Public Health emphasis continues to shift from societal, school-based programs to "individual responsibility"**

1916 **The American Federation of Labor (AFL), Big Business and the AMA oppose national health insurance:** The first two oppose it because they want to use health benefits as a way to control workers. AMA opposes it because it wants to control doctors.

1917 **Russian Revolution occurs and the Soviet Union is formed**
First migration of Blacks out of South: AFL keeps African Americans out of union. White riots against Blacks in Chicago.

1918 **World wide influenza epidemic kills over 22 million people**
1% of people control 50% of wealth in U.S.

1920 **Prohibition.**
900 hospitals now in U.S.: Revenue generated by doctors.
Beginning of economic crisis: 5,500,000 unemployed.

1927 **Women's suffrage**
"Committee on the cost of medical care" sponsored by Rockefellers, Carnegie, etc. They propose group practice, prepaid health plans and public funds to privately organized health care system - opposed by AMA.

1928 **Antibiotics**
Continued Growth of Hospitals

1929 **Stock Market Crash**: 30% of workforce out of work. First Blue Cross plan is developed at Baylor University in Texas, insuring that hospital bills can be paid.

1932 **Roosevelt elected president**
Tuskegee Syphilis Experiment started by U.S. Public Health Service (612 Black Alabamans denied treatment for Syphilis).

1933 **Kaiser sets up first prepaid health plan:** A comprehensive plan for Grand Canyon Dam workers and later for war industry workers. In the 1930's, Blues (Blue Cross and Blue Shield) go national - third party payers growing. In 4 years during the depression, doctors' incomes decline by 47%. The AMA decides to reduce the number of doctors, thereby increasing their income.

1934 **Commercial Health Insurance (for-profit) starts**
1935 **Social Security Act passed**: No national health insurance —the very poor excluded from SSA. (Must work and pay into SSA to receive benefits.) Farm and domestic laborers are excluded.

1937 **Insulin Discovered**
1938 **Dixiecrats and Republicans in Congress unite to kill national health insurance**: 68% of low income people say they cannot afford to visit a doctor.

1940 **Blue Cross** has 6 million subscribers, commercial insurers 3.7 million
1941 **Germany invades Soviet Union.** Pearl Harbor bombed. Manhattan Project started. Atom split. PAP Smear developed. Millions of US soldiers get first access to health care in military. Penicillin denied to Tuskegee study victims.

1942 **Bracero Program**: Establishes the use of Mexican labor in the Southwest.
1944 **Post War**: 14 million people in trade unions. GI Bill allows millions to attend colleges. Growth of the Blues (Blue Cross and Blue Shield) and commercial insurers. Bretton Woods agreements frame U.S. supremacy worldwide— U.S. dollar becomes the world standard. IMF and World Bank created.

1946 **Hill-Burton Act**: No national health insurance. Hill-Burton funds begin pumping billions of public monies for hospital construction especially in poorer states and the South-- but it allows for local control of hospitals. In the South, African Americans are denied access to hospitals built with these funds.

1947 **Taft-Hartley Act passed**: establishing right-to-work, non-union South. There are fewer employed workers covered by health benefits in the South.

1948 **Marshall Plan**
Apartheid begins in South Africa: Mandela and ANC fight back.

1949 **People's Republic of China is established**
1950 **Intervention in Korea**
7 Million insured

1951 **First Heart Lung Machine**
1952 **Emmitt Till murdered:** A young Black man from the North, visiting his grandmother in Mississippi is lynched by a White mob for "looking at" a White woman.
Polio is #1 infection killing children in the US

1953 **Blue Cross and Blue Shield covers 27% of US population:** Commercials 29%, Independents 7%.

1954 **12 million workers and 17 million of their dependents covered by insurance:** Unions negotiate 25% of all health plans; health insurance firmly bound to employment.

1954 **Brown vs. Board of Education: abolishes "separate but equal" doctrine.**
Salk develops Polio vaccine: There is dancing in the streets. Penicillin, sulfa drugs and vaccines are celebrated. Tuskegee study continues to withhold penicillin from syphilis infected men.

1955-1960 **National Institute of Health** budget grows from $81 million to $400 million.

1955 **Rosa Parks arrested:** Beginning of Montgomery Bus Boycott.
1958 **Thalidomide (a fertility drug) birth defects appearing**
1959 **Bautista overthrown in Cuba - Socialism established:** Cuba begins the most advanced universal and comprehensive health system in the hemisphere.

1960 **First artificial kidney**
1961 **Bay of Pigs**: US Marines land in Cuba to overthrow Castro.

1963 **March on Washington.**
Mumps and measles vaccine.
Birmingham church bombing.
Women's income 1/3 of men's.
President Kennedy assassinated.

1964 **War on Poverty:** Rebellion in Watts and Detroit. Founding of the Medical Committee for Human Rights (MCHR). MCHR provides medical personnel for Civil Rights marchers and demonstrators in the South.

1965 **Voting Rights Act passes.**
Border Industrial Program (BIP) starts.
Medicare passes: Provides national health insurance for elderly and disabled; no means testing; no state interference.
Medicaid passes: Provides health insurance for some people living below the poverty line; it uses means testing; states determine eligibility and provide funding - for poorer means testing, matched by the federal government. Thousands of doctors and hospitals refuse to accept Medicaid patients. Southern states enroll the fewest in Medicaid.

1966 **Community Health Clinic grows from the Civil Rights Movement:** Mississippi Mound Bayou Health Clinic nearly loses its funding when doctors prescribe and pharmacy distributes food as "medicine for malnutrition." Local 1199 organizes health care workers in New York. Professionals in Lincoln Hospital collective hook up with the Young Lords in New York to fight to make Lincoln Hospital responsible to community.

1967 **Half million U.S. Troops in Vietnam: Agent** Orange readily used.
1968 **By 1968, one third of Puerto Rican women of child bearing age have been sterilized**

1968 **Walter Reuther, President of the United Auto Workers, calls for national health insurance**
Tet Offensive. Mai Lai massacre in Vietnam.
Civil Rights Act passed. MLK assassinated.

1969 **Printing of Our Bodies, Our Selves:** Symbolizes beginning of Women's Health Movement.

1970 **Microchip invented**
High blood pressure education
Clean Air Act

1971 **Attica Prison Riots**
Cigarette advertising banned on TV

1972 **Nixon elected**
Vietnam War ends
Tuskegee syphilis study is finally stopped
Sickle cell programs are started
Water Pollution Control Act passed
Dr. Selikoff identifies asbestos as cause of white lung cancer

1973 **Roe v. Wade.** Birth Control pill. National Welfare Rights Organization protests forced sterilization. Color and class conflict within Women's Movement.
Health Maintenance Organization Assistance Act is developed: Promoted by Richard Nixon, it provides federal funds for HMOs. This Act staves off Kennedy's nat'l health insurance program. Dellums Bill creating the National Health Service is also introduced.

1974 **WIC program passed**
2 Million women using the Dalcon Shield

1975 **GM spends more on health insurance benefits than on steel**

1977 **United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) strikes for health benefits involving 80,000 workers:** This is the only union that controls its health plan.
Hyde Amendment cuts off Medicaid funding for abortions.

1977 **Last Documented case of small pox in the world**
1978 **First Test Tube Baby**
HMO enrollment 1.4 million: 26 million people without health insurance

1980-89 **860,000 Jobs Lost:** Due in part to increasing electronic and computer application to manufacturing production processes.
Federal Subsidies for HMO's end

1980 - 90 **200 Mergers of hospitals**: The share of public hospital budgets devoted to treating the uninsured increases by 17% while private hospital budgets decrease by 16%.
Nursing as a percentage of hospital employment decreases 7%: Administrative jobs increase 43%.

1981 **First Space Shuttle**
AIDS Virus identified.
Humana Corporation now has $1.4 Billion in revenues: up from $4 million in 1979; they own 300 hospitals.
Less than 20% of HMOs are private for profit (this increases to more than 70% by 1997)
Employment Retirement Insurance Security Act (ERISA) is passed

1983 **Diagnostic Related Groups (DRGs) passed:** Leads to hospital layoffs, job mix, premature discharges from hospitals. Rather than lowering the cost of health care, this begins to ration care.

1985 **Laser Surgery for clogged arteries**

1986 **Chernobyl Nuclear Disaster**
25.7 Million enrolled in managed care in the U.S.

1987 **Health Care costs 11.2% of the U.S. GNP ($512 Billion)**

1989 **Medicaid covers less than 37% of poor**
Many strikes over health care benefits: Employers and insurance companies now lining up against doctors and hospitals about costs. Communication Workers of America (CWA), Pittston UMWA strike over health care benefits.

1990 **Norplant is introduced**
25 years after introduction of microchip: Now power of microprocessor doubles every 18 minutes.
Human Genome Diversity Project: DNA samples taken from thousands of Native peoples worldwide, most of whom will never benefit from their study.

1990-1995 **Part-time temporary labor up 400%**
Less than 50% of employed covered by health insurance
Health care now costs nearly $1 Trillion in the U.S.

1990-1992 **68% increase in the wealth of the richest 1% of the people** in the U.S. (who control 42% of the wealth.)

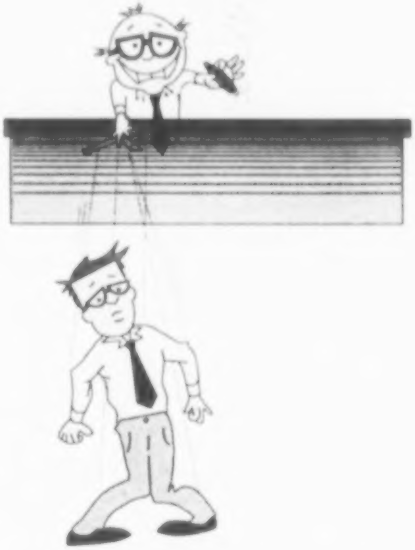
1991 **Single Payer Report:** Government Accounting Office reports that single payer, national health insurance is the best way out of dual crises of rising costs and (lack of) access to health care.
Physicians for a National Health Plan is a growing, single payer advocacy organization.
Persian Gulf War: Thousands of American Troops and Iraqis exposed to chemical agents — beginning of Gulf War Syndrome.

1992 **Hamlet fire kills 25 workers in North Carolina**
Clinton elected: New movement surging in health care, but isolated from the unemployed.

1993 **Merger mania:** 5 HMOs merge worth $500 million.
2000 march to Little Rock, Arkansas and confront Clinton: demand single payer, national health insurance. Clinton's plan promotes managed competition. Efforts at health care reform delayed (again) in Congress.

1994 **13 health care corporation mergers worth $4 billion**
1995 **Value of mergers up another 22% from previous year**: no regulation.
Several HMO CEO salaries average around $7 million
2/3 of all HMO's now private for-profit

1995 **NAFTA passes**
Americans with Disability Act passes



1996 **Californians force Blue Cross/Blue Shield to turn over $2.1 billion in assets:** In the mid 1990s many non-profit hospitals & insurance companies convert to for-profit corporations – transforming public assets to private profits. These conversions are being challenged across the country. In many cases grassroots groups have successfully forced these assets into non-profit foundations.

Late 1997 **Sheep cloned**
41 million uninsured in the U.S.; 80 million in poverty: Welfare reform allows for kicking recipients off Medicaid 1 year after they are kicked off welfare (assistance program); welfare recipients herded into substandard managed care programs.

Critical Questions:
The Changing Face of Health Care

- What is the meaning and significance of the Tuskegee syphilis experiment? What are its implications for medical research and experimentation today?

- What was the economic and social environment when Medicare and Medicaid were passed? What is the difference between them? What is important about the difference?

- Why does the number of people without health insurance continue to increase? What are some of the characteristics of corporate managed health care?

- What has been and is the role of health care in American society? How is health care related to employment? What should health care be like in the U.S.? What would that system look like?

Health Care Resource Guide

Himmelstein, DU. & S. Woolhandler, et. al. "A National Health Program for the US: A Physicans' Proposal." *New England Journal of Medicine*, 1989 (Jan. 12); 320:102-108.

The definitive overview of single-payer health care from Physicians for a National Health Program (PNHP). All of the basics are explained: universal coverage payments to hospitals and providers, allocation of capital funds, public health services, funding (and the funding transition). The article also covers the effects on consumers, physicians, other workers, institutions, the insurance industry, and corporate America.

Konner, Melvin, M.D. 1993. Dear America, A Concerned Doctor. New York: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co.

A short, concise argument against managed care and an excellent history of the evolution of current corporate health care. Konner's book gives a clear picture of the need for a single-payer health care system.

Woolhandler, S. & DU Himmelstein. "A National Health Program: Northern Light at the End of the Tunnel." *Journal of the American Medical Association* 1989; 262: 213 6-7.

A quick, two-page overview on why US health care spending is wildly out of control, and how single-payer financing can turn things around. With statistics on the successes of (and public satisfaction with) Canada's national health program.

Government Accounting Office. "Canadian Health Insurance: Lessons for the US." (GAO/HRD- 91- 90). June 1991.

The Government Accounting Office estimates the US would have saved $67 billion in 1991 due to the administrative savings associated with a single payer system.

Websites

UHCAN! Web Site:
www.uhcan.org

The Universal Health Care Action Network (UHCAN!) was formed in 1992 as a nationwide network of individuals and organizations, both local and national, committed to achieving health care for all. Their new web site is a comprehensive resource for information about the status of health care and the fight for health care justice.

The Small Working Groups

TheSmall Working Groups what I' ... It's completely different from

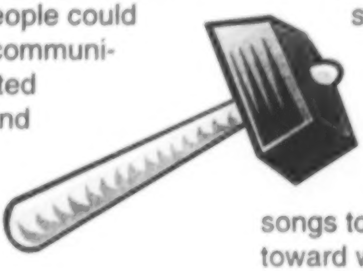
try to anticipate a social movement, and if it turns out you're right, then you'll be on the inside of a movement, helping with mobilization and strategies, instead of the outside jumping on the bandwagon and never b[illegible] important part of it. You try to figure out what's going to happen so that you can position yourself in such a way as to become a part of it: you do things in advance to prepare the groundwork for a larger movement. That way, you're built into it when the momentum begins... It's like learning to ride freight trains

...Right now we're in what I call an organizational period...It's completely different from what happens when there is a social movement. You try to figure out what's going to happen so that you can position yourself in such a way as to become a part of it: you do things in advance to prepare the groundwork for a larger movement. That way, you're built into it when the momentum begins... It's like learning to ride freight trains. Right now we're in what I call an organizational period. It's completely different from what happens when there is a social movement. It's like learning to ride freight trains...

The Small Working Groups

The following popular education "tools" were developed at the Institute by the Small Working Groups. The Groups, comprised of seven or eight members each, gave folks a chance to work creatively in an unrestricted, cooperative environment.

We wanted folks to create some useful tools that people could take back to their communities. We also wanted people of all skill and experience levels to learn from and share with each other in the process of creating something useful.



Each Small Working Group met three times during the Institute for a total of six hours. Through the course of their meetings group members shared their understandings of popular education and discussed differences in learning styles. They talked about what helps people learn. Then, the Groups began designing their popular education tools.

Groups were given free reign in planning: they had to decide what issues their tools would address and how they would address them. Each Group demonstrated its tool to the Meeting of the Whole on the morning of the Institute's final day.

The results of this exercise turned out to be as diverse as the objectives. One group designed some simple games to help people recognize and celebrate their similarities and differences. Another group performed a skit on the Zapatista struggle for human rights in Chiapas, Mexico. A third group used popular songs to examine our attitudes toward work.

The work of each group is shared here. Each explanation is divided into three sections. The sections provide an overview of the excercise, describe the purpose, and explains how it looks or flows (including the tools you'll need to perform it).

Here's what the Small Working Groups came up with:

The Small Working Groups

Each of the Small Working Groups at the Institute was named for a prominent activist or organizer in the struggle for survival and liberation. Here are short descriptions of these heroic individuals...

Septima Poinsette Clark (1898 - 1987) A political activist, educational reformer, proponent of citizenship education and civil rights crusader. She worked on citizenship education throughout the South for both Highlander Folk School (now Highlander Research and Education Center) and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. These citizenship schools reached millions of people and enhanced social and political progress in eleven Deep South states.

Lucy Parsons (1853 - 1942) The first Black woman to play a prominent role in the American labor movement. A veteran of Chicago anarchist, socialist, and communist movements during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. She wrote powerfully on lynching and racial violence. A committed revolutionary, she devoted 60 years of her life to improving the situation of the poor, the jobless, the homeless, women, children and people of color.

Paulo Freire (1921-1997) A Brazilian educator who developed a method of teaching literacy to poor rural farmers in Brazil that relies on the lived experience of the participants. His methods emphasized that students define what is to be learned and that the acquired knowledge must be applied to developing community voice for a better quality of life. The resulting empowerment and critical thinking radically transformed those who benefited from his lessons. Freire was exiled for his work after the 1964 military junta took power in Brazil. He spent 20 years outside Brazil further developing his philosophy and methodology creating a dialogue that included literacy education, study content and the political act of educating. His thought has made significant contributions to education and more importantly, social change throughout the world.

John Brown (d. 1859) A white man who led a raid of twenty-two men, 5 African American and 17 White, seizing the arsenal at Harper's Ferry, Virginia in hope of leading a slave insurrection. Brown aided anti-slavery forces in Kansas, and worked on the Underground Railroad before raising money and consciousness in the North to support his plans to attack slaveholders and liberate their slaves. He terrified the South, captivated the North and empowered slaves by his deed. Brown was hanged on December 2, 1859.

Myles Horton (1905 - 1990) Founded the Highlander Education and Research Center in the 1930's. He created a safe place where poor and oppressed people of the south—regardless of their ethnic or racial backgrounds—could go to value and analyze their experience and make decisions regarding their lives and well-being. Horton was instrumental in bringing people together to address worker and civil rights in the South.

Crazy Horse (d. 1877) An Oglala Lakota, Crazy Horse was one of the most feared and brilliant military leaders of his time. He fought for the rights of his people and against the encroachment of White settlers and U.S. cavalrymen upon Indian treaty lands, specifically the Black Hills of South Dakota. He was a powerful and respected spiritual leader and visionary. He represented the last stronghold of his people. He was one of those responsible for two of the three greatest defeats ever inflicted on the U.S. Army by Native Americans, including the Battle of the Little Bighorn where General George Custer met his demise. He surrendered at Fort Robinson in May 1877, where he was murdered under disputed circumstances.

Crazy Horse refused to allow people to take his picture.

Stephen Biko (1946 - 1977) A young South African political and cultural leader. Founder of the Black Consciousness movement, honorary president of the Black People's Convention and an organizer for the Black Community Programs in Durban, South Africa. The Security Police arrested Biko for allegedly inciting riots. During his detention he was interrogated, tortured, beat, bound in chains, denied fresh air, food, and water and eventually died of a brain hemorrhage as a result of head injuries sustained while in custody. His death re-focused world attention on the continuing injustices of White minority rule in South Africa.

Emiliano Zapata (1879-1919) Though he had little formal education, this Mexican Indigenous leader organized a movement of poor rural, *Indiginas* in Southern Mexico to fight for land and liberation. Much of the land reform laid out in Zapata's "Plan de Ayala"—which his movement was deeply committed to enacting—was adopted into the Mexican Constitution in 1920, after the most recent Mexican revolution. Article 27 of the Mexican Constitution is probably the best example of the principles of the *Zapatistas.* This Article gave many Indigenous Mexicans the right to establish autonomous communities and collectively govern "open" State land. It was revoked in 1993 to make way for NAFTA and the exploitation of natural resources by Multi-national Corporations.

Zapatista Skit

JOHN BROWN WORKING GROUP

Overview: The Group created a skit that told the story of the Zapatista struggle and connected the events in Chiapas with other events such as the signing of The North American Free Trade Agreement and the so-called War on Drugs. They set out to answer two important questions in their skit: What is the general situation in Chiapas? And, what are the connections between the Zapatistas and the people of the United States?

It would be helpful to learn a little about the Mayan communities in Chiapas before attempting the skit. But even if you know nothing of the Zapatistas, you can use this as a story-telling model; just change the characters around and you'll probably find something that happened in your community. Theater has long been used for the purpose of creating

Purpose: to use theater to educate and inform people about the Zapatista struggle for human rights in Chiapas, Mexico*.

The Characters (7):
President Salinas, Mexico
President Clinton, USA
US Congress US/Mexican Military
News Reporter
Workers of the US (in a noose)
Workers of Mexico (in a tighter noose)

Note: groups can build a costume box containing the costumes of these characters.

The Stuff:
Signs (7), each character should have a sign identifying them, especially if no costumes are available. Plus, one sign that says 'NAFTA' on one side with 'Death Warrant' on the other. Get a microphone for the reporter. Two nooses (for the Mexican and American workers).

The Flow:
Part One. Two people sit in chairs near the back of the stage. They both have nooses around their necks and are divided by some sort of line. They represent the workers and everyday people of both Mexico and the US. The skit begins with the Presidents of Mexico and the US signing the North American Free Trade Agreement. A treaty that the Presidents say will help the people of both countries (the Presidents freeze, smiling).

Next, a news reporter reporting about NAFTA is suddenly interrupted by news that a rebel movement has taken 7 towns in Southern Mexico in response to the signing of NAFTA and other changes in the Mexican Constitution.

The news reporter should do a good job of summing up the motivations of the Zapatistas.

After the news reports, the Presidents smiles turn to frowns and the NAFTA sign is turned around. On the other side it says Death Warrant. They both sign it and give it to the military with *orders to exterminate the rebellion.*

Part Two. *The reporter introduces an announcement from President Clinton. Clinton gets on stage and tries to sell the American people (the audience) a referendum. He explains that we are all headed toward a Global Economy and that NAFTA is essential to participate in it. At the end, he asks, 'So will you all sign my referendum?' See how your audience reacts.*

Part Three. Discuss the symbolism: two characters in the nooses. Who do they represent? What's happening to them? What do the nooses mean? And what can be done? During the discussion facilitators will have a fact sheet and a list of critical questions to help guide the discussion along.

Part Four. Announcements are made to inform people about what actions are taking place and how people could get involved. (Example: who to write a letter to, dates of important actions, phone number sharing, etc.)

For more information about the Zapatistas and Chiapas contact:
The National Commission for Democracy in Mexico (NCDM)
1 (800) 405-7770
E-mail: moonlight@igc.apc.org

Interactive Games

PAULO FREIRE WORKING GROUP

Purpose: The purposes of these games are to learn more about the people we interact with everyday. While they illustrate similarities and differences between people, they help groups move into more honest, authentic communication. The Working Group also intended that by playing these games people could see and critique assumptions that they make about others.

The Flow:

Game One: Two Truths and a Lie

Note: This exercise is most effective in small groups. If your group is larger than 15 people, then break into smaller groups of 7-10 to give every one a chance to share their stories.

Each person comes up with three statements about themselves. Two are true and one is a lie. Give people five minutes to think up their statements. A person goes before the group and presents their three statements. Led by a facilitator, the rest of the group tries to guess which one is a lie. After the group has guessed (not everyone has to agree), the person then tells them which statement was a lie. The facilitator examines the assumptions that the group made about the person's statements. Repeat until each person has shared their statements with the group.

Sample Facilitator's Questions:

Why did you feel that statement was a lie?

What characteristics led you to that belief?

What are the assumptions behind your guess?

Game Two: Links

This game begins with members of the group milling around "like molecules in the Universe." The facilitator asks a yes or no question. The people who answer 'yes' join hands to form a circle (link up). Others stand back. The facilitator asks people to take note of those people who make up the circle and those who stand outside the circle.

Sample Questions:

Can you name 5 rap groups?

Have you read books written by authors outside your own ethnic group?

Is English your mother tongue?

Did you go to college?

Did your mother work when you were growing up?

Have you dated someone outside your own ethnic group?

Do you like chocolate ice cream?

Do you consider yourself multi-racial?

Overview: The Paulo Freire Group took two interactive games that they were all familiar with and changed them. The changes forged a new tool that creates a safe, fun space where we can meet each other, examine the assumptions we make about others, and be a bit more real. These games are also a great way to discover common ground in a group, as well as respectfully noting differences.

These games can be used as the centerpiece of a workshop agenda to open up a dialogue on internal organizational issues including racism, sexism, homophobia and classism. They can also be used as an ice-breaker to help people get to know each other.

****NOTE** It is important to establish groundrules about honesty and confidentiality within your group, if you expect to use these exercises to explore sensitive issues.**

Living Popular Education

CRAZY HORSE WORKING GROUP

Overview: The Crazy Horse Group designed a group of short exercises to create change within and between people. They explore daily, individual expressions of resistance to a domineering and repressive power structure that discourages an identity separate from the status quo. In response to the pressures of survival, many people take names, objects, and rituals to help them through rough times and maintain identity through good times. These exercises encourage people to share their consciousness and individuality because we can, and because it is inspiring.

Purpose: To raise consciousness by sharing personal experiences and connecting those experiences with the historical, spiritual, and political worlds.

The Flow:
Part One: What's in a Name?

Our names used to be something that described everything about us and our place in the world. They had meaning. Today our names tell stories that few of us have the time to decipher. What's in a Name gives people a chance to search deeper into the meaning of not only our birth names and nicknames, but also names which we adopt for ourselves. In this exercise each person maps out the history of their name on paper (see example below). Then ask everyone to share the story of their name with the rest of the group. "What's in a Name?" should be done in small groups.

Part Two: Share a Ritual/Daily Practice

In this exercise people are encouraged to think about and share a ritual or daily practice. Recognizing that most of us have something we do to stay spiritually focused, to maintain the strength of our hearts, or simply to de-stress, this exercise gets people to discuss what keeps us going. Have each person share a ritual or daily practice with the group. Examples include singing loudly when I am alone, watching the sun rise and prayer.

Part Three: Personal Objects

Like the exercise above, each person shares something that they keep for spiritual or emotional strength and its meaning or use for them. (ex. clothing, jewelry, a small stone)

""All of these exercises allow us to explore history, culture, family and personal identity and habits.""

EXAMPLE: Eva Johnson > Nacala Ajanaku

Eva grandmother's name	Johnson family name (from days of slavery) - means son of John	
Eva	Johnson - Stokes	Due to Marriage
E. Nia "Determination"	Ajanaku "Warrior"	Following a divorce and inspired by activism in community issues
Nacala "Peace"	Ajanaku "Warrior"	Daughter's Name

Part Four: Living Resistance

This is a guided discussion led by a facilitator about the ways that we live the lives and lifestyles we want in the face of adverse authority; the Working Group dubbed this "living resistance."

This activity focuses on what people do to practice resistance. Examples include: buying organic fruits and vegetables, supporting Black-owned businesses and riding a bicycle to work instead of driving a car. The Group created a continuum of how personal lifestyles are intertwined with society and the world:

Individual > Family > Community > Nation > World

The importance of the continuum is to emphasize that for resistance to be effective, we must take the things we do individually and apply them to our families and communities.

After introducing the concept of "living resistance" the facilitator should ask each participant to think about one example of living resistance from their own life and write it down. Then explain the continuum. Ask everyone to share their example. The group should apply the continuum to each example. How could each example be taught or practiced at each level of the continuum?

The facilitator should also help the group note what obstacles prevent us from living these lifestyles. For example, it may be difficult for some to buy organic foods because of cost or availability—even though one wants to eat only organic food. Or, a person is forced to drive a long distance to work even though they may want to ride bikes because of the impact of cars upon the environment. These obstacles should also be looked at for each level of the continuum as well.

This exercise demonstrates that **collective** as well as individual action is necessary to make real changes in the patterns and systems that govern our lives. The Group emphasized that we are all practitioners of resistance lifestyles. In some ways this makes us teachers in our families and communities. The facilitator should emphasize that collective actions and organizing help create the conditions for making the lifestyles that we want to live. Give examples.

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Slice of Life Clips to Trigger Awareness and Action

SEPTIMA CLARK WORKING GROUP

Overview: *The Group designed three short skits that can be used to stimulate discussion around issues of welfare reform, unemployment, and police accountability. Each skit carries a theme that emphasizes the importance of organizing our communities and working collectively to confront these problems.*

Purpose: To illuminate some of the effects of police brutality, welfare reform, and the lack of jobs on community life. To emphasize the need for collective action.

The Flow:
Adapt and perform any of the following skits (or design one around a pressing issue in your community.) Once the characters in the skit have reached the point of discussing different possibilities for action - stop the skit. Then the facilitator should lead a group discussion about the issues raised in the skit *and* what action steps the participants want to take in their own community.

Skit #1: "Ending Police/Official Misconduct: Slaying the Dragon"

Characters & Setting: This skit has two characters - a victim of police harassment and a lawyer who might take the case to court. They are in the lawyers office.

The skit begins with the lawyer asking the victim what they want. "I want to sue the police," is the reply. The victim then explains what happened to her/him. The two argue about the role of police in society. The victim saying, "I pay taxes, police salaries are for them to protect and serve me." "No," the lawyer replies, "Your taxes pay them to preserve the lifestyles of the rich."

Then, the lawyer explains why a lawsuit may not be a great idea. The lawyer explains there is no guarantee of damages being awarded, and that the victim probably does not have the means to pay for an expensive lawsuit (which includes court fees, attorney fees and paralegal research). The lawyer then explains that if the victim loses the lawsuit, they will be responsible for the defense attorney's fees as well.

"I don't think I want to sue the police," admits the victim.

The two then begin to discuss strategies, that with collective action, could change the situation of police harassment. (i.e. police monitoring, sensitivity training for the police, citizen review boards, etc.)

Skit #2: "Welfare Repeal: The End of Denial"

Characters & Setting: This skit features three women sitting around a kitchen table discussing the coming changes in welfare.

One of the women has a story about how she heard about some new lifetime limits on welfare payments for child care. The other two are in denial that anything will happen to affect their welfare payments. They don't believe her.

Then, a canvasser comes to the door announcing that there will be a community meeting about the changes in welfare benefits. The women still are in disbelief. They debate amongst themselves whether or not to believe the canvasser. End the skit any way you want to.

After the skit, ask people to share their personal stories and experiences with the changing welfare system. Follow up with extra information about the changes in your area and how people can get involved with making the people's voice heard.

Skit #3: "Partnership for Survival and Transformation"

Characters & Setting: There are two characters: a job placement counselor and a member of a local food co-op. They are friends and meeting over lunch.

The job placement counselor expresses her dismay at the lack of jobs for the people she has to place. The co-op member tells his friend that the co-op can't staff their volunteer positions, which earn discounts on healthy food, training for other jobs and a chance to help in the community.

They talk about ways to combine their needs and approach a solution.

Turn the discussion out to the participants.

Rethinking Jobs and Work

MYLES HORTON WORKING GROUP

Overview: What is a job? What is work? In 1860, 90% of people were technically unemployed (didn't have a "job"). Today about 6 to 14 percent of people in the US don't have jobs. The transition from agriculture-based economy to a manufacturing-based economy forced many people into jobs when farmwork no longer provided them with the necessities.

If we have a job, are we doing what we enjoy? Or are we showing up because we have to? Using song to stimulate our thinking, this exercise helps us question the relationship between the jobs available to us and the work we do to lead meaningful lives.

Purpose: To examine the differences between having a job and doing meaningful work.

The Flow:

Part One: Song Game

One person starts singing a song about work, or at least with work in the lyrics. Everyone sings along. When enough of one song has been sung, someone comes up and tags the song leader on the shoulder and begins another song. Continue this until you've run out of songs or get tired of singing. This exercise should be done spontaneously. Anyone who has a song to share should feel free to approach and tag the song leader and start a new song.

Examples included: "9 to 5", "Working in a Coal Mine", "Hard Days Night", "She Works Hard for Her Money", "Sixteen Tons", etc.

Note: This tool can be adapted to address any issue that you can sing songs about!

Part Two: Critical Questions

A facilitator leads the next section of the exercise by asking questions that center around peoples work experiences.

Suggested Questions:

a. What did you expect your work life would be like when you were growing up? How does that compare with your experience?

b. What kind of work do you do?

c. What are the differences between a "job" and work? Write down the answers in two columns on paper or a blackboard for people to see.

d. How many jobs have you had?

e. Which jobs have you liked the best and why?

Part Three: Visioning/Next Steps

Suggested Questions:

a. What kind of work would you do if you didn't have to worry about getting paid?

b. What would you want work to be?

c. Why isn't it like that? What are the obstacles between you and the work you want?

d. What must we do to achieve our vision for doing the kind of work that we want to do?

"A Global People's Parable"

STEVEN BIKO WORKING GROUP

Purpose: to tell the story of how everyday people, government and corporations have evolved and interacted since time immemorial.

Tools:
You'll need signs that say: government, corporations, family, and workers. You'll also need pink-slips for the layoffs, green paper (money), and food (they used apples.)

Characters:
Corporate Guys (2-3), Government Guy, a bunch of "people" (6-10)

The Flow:
The skit opens with the people of the earth sitting in a circle. Everyone has food. You can tailor the rest based on your space and how you want to act it out. Use your creative skills to act it out the way your group wants to. Here's what the Biko Group did:

__Overview:__ This skit tells (some of) the story of how corporations gained power, ruined communities through lay-offs, and wrecked the environment in their wake. The Group, however, gave it a twist, so it has a happy ending. Your group should feel free to alter the content or the ending depending on the conditions in your community. This is a general model which combines theater and song - change it as you wish.

THE SCRIPT

NOTE: The following is a script read by a narrator. There are eight to twelve characters necessary to act it out.

Begin with a song.

"The water, the sky and the earth belong to the people. They live in harmony, they respect each other and they respect the earth. They are self-sustaining.

"Some people begin to accumulate surplus, land, and wealth. Government protects their property and their wealth. Corporations evolve. They separate the people from the land. They impose wage slavery. (People leave the circle, and perform working motions.)

"Even bigger global corporations evolve. The government supports the global corporations. Together they violate the human rights of the people. They almost destroy the earth, water and the sky.

"The global corporations use high technology. They downsize. They lay-off millions of workers. They make more and more profits. Government applauds and rewards the corporations with corporate welfare.

SONG

"The workers and their families have to go on welfare and food stamps to survive. Government policy forces fathers to leave their families.

"The global corporations need fewer and fewer workers. The government, realizing this, eliminates poor peoples welfare and food stamps—but NOT corporate welfare. This floods the labor market with even more workers and wages plummet.

"The people have had enough! They use popular education to take the message to all the people that things had to change. They organize themselves for the new movement for survival to create a new world.

"The people, educated and organized, take back global corporations and the government and all that their ancestors had produced with their labor. The people reclaim the earth, the sky and the water for humanity and all creation.

Finish with a song.

"Think, Pair, Share"

LUCY PARSONS WORKING GROUP

Overview: Many of us have had times when we were treated unfairly. These exercises help us to look at the times where we responded to injustice with dignity, had others around us support our anger and respected us for who we are (were). The second exercise allows us to think about how we can use our experiences with injustice as motivators for positive responses.

Purpose: To share personal experiences of when we suffered injustice and had our anger and sense of discrimination validated. To share examples of times when our anger to motivated us to take positive action.

The Flow:

Part One: Validation

Break people up into pairs (2). Each person tries to think of a time when they suffered injustice. Now, think of a time when you suffered injustice and were validated by someone. Validation means that another person understood what happened to you and did something to support you. One example was a story of a woman who was discriminated against as a little girl by a White shop owner because she is African American. Her father told her she had a right to be angry and went down to confront the White shop owner.

The participants should share what the "validator" did and how it changed them. The listener should reflect back to the talker what he or she said. Switch. Allow about 5 minutes for everyone to come up with a story. Then gather as a large group. Allow people share to their stories in front of the whole group.

Note: Have someone tell a story of validation **before** folks pair up. This makes it easier for people to know what it is they are trying to come up with.

Part Two: Angry and Doing Something About It

Using the Think, Pair, Share model, people pair up and each person in a pair tells a story about a time when they were motivated into positive, creative action through anger. Gather as a large group and share the stories.

In our earlier example, the little girl's family started a boycott against the shop to protest the owner's compliance with segregation laws.

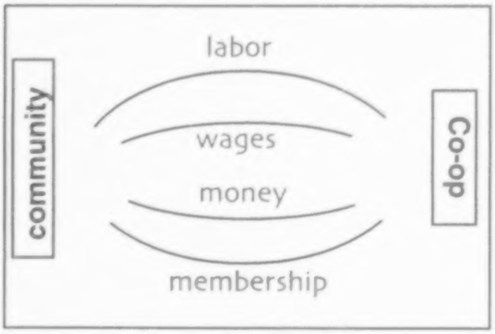
Co-opoly

EMILIANO ZAPATA WORKING GROUP

Purpose: To use a familiar format (a board game) to teach young people about cooperative economics in theory and practice.

The Flow:
Co-opoly is a board game for 4-6 players. It was designed for young people, but can be played by any small group (or a larger group broken down). This game works best with groups who have some familiarity with each other.

The Emiliano Zapata group did not complete the board design, that can be done by each organization that uses this tool. The skeleton design looks like this:



Making Stops Along the Way:
To develop the rest of the game you should add 5-10 stops along each line. Players use a die to move between stops. These stops should represent things that could happen in the daily lives of the participants. In the case of the young people involved in setting up the cooperative market, the stops could include: Contribute 20 hours of work each week (on the *labor* line), Receive $7.50/hour for your work (on the *wages* line), Spend $25/week on groceries (on the *money* line), and Vote in the Board of Directors election (on the *membership* line).

You should try to make the stops as realistic and interesting as possible. Ask participants to stop and tell stories about how the scenarios or "stops" are similar or different to their current situation. Finally, ask participants how this idea of a cooperative business is different than the businesses in their communities.

Overview: As young people we are usually taught the basics of a capitalist economy - not enough to make it work for us, just enough to go to work and pay our bills.

The Emiliano Zapata Working Group developed the concept for a new board game called Co-opoly. The game teaches the basic concepts of cooperative economics and the principles of a cooperative business. It also incorporates storytelling. This idea was developed for a group of young people who are being invited to help create a cooperative market. You can adapt the game to educate people about a new project in your community.

Appendices

Right now I per we're in what I call an I now w Appendices I period ... ent from

try to ntici- ate a social movement, and if it turns out you're right, en you'll be on the inside of a movement, helping with mobilization and strategies, instead of the outside jumping on the bandwagon and never being an important part of it. You try to figure out what's going to happen so that you can position yourself in such a way as to become a part of it: you do things in advance to prepare the groundwork for a larger movement. That way, you're built into it when the momentum begins... It's like learning to ride freight trains

...Right now we're in what I call an organizational period...It's completely different from what happens when there is a social movement. You try to figure out what's going to happen so that you can position yourself in such a way as to become a part of it: you do things in advance to prepare the groundwork for a larger movement. That way, you're built into it when the momentum begins... It's like learning to ride freight trains. Right now we're in what I call an organizational period. It's completely different from what happens when there is a social movement. It's like learning to ride freight trains...

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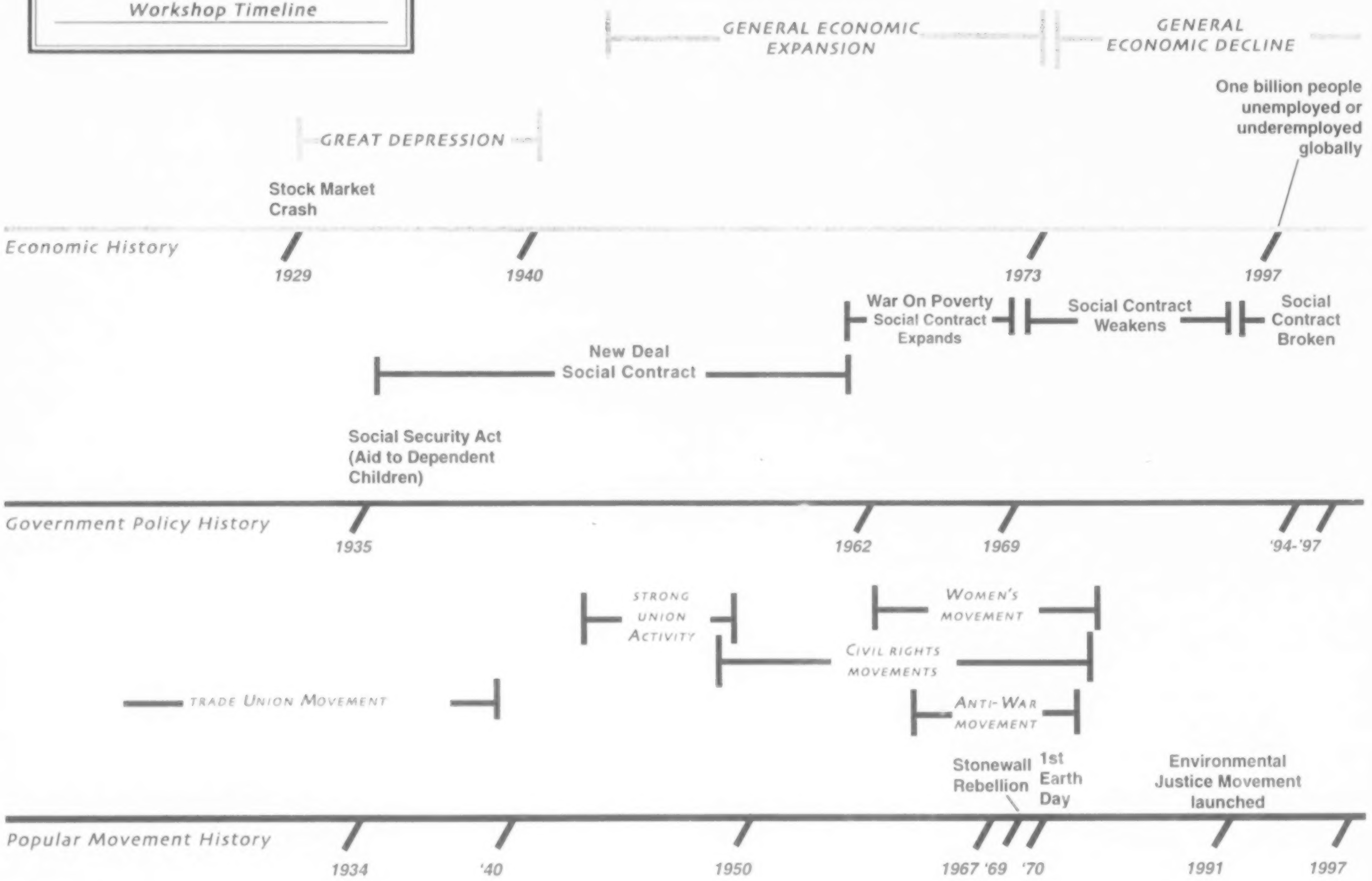
Project South
Workshop Timeline


GENERAL ECONOMIC EXPANSION
GENERAL ECONOMIC DECLINE
GREAT DEPRESSION
One billion people unemployed or underemployed globally
Stock Market Crash
Economic History
1929
1940
1973
1997
War On Poverty Social Contract Expands
Social Contract Weakens
Social Contract Broken
New Deal Social Contract
Social Security Act (Aid to Dependent Children)
Government Policy History
1935
1962
1969
'94-'97
STRONG UNION ACTIVITY
WOMEN'S MOVEMENT
CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENTS
TRADE UNION MOVEMENT
ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT
Stonewall Rebellion
1st Earth Day
Environmental Justice Movement launched
Popular Movement History
1934
'40
1950
1967
'69
'70
1991
1997

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Welfare in the Global Economy

DEVELOPED BY MEMBERS OF THE PROJECT SOUTH WORKING GROUP ON POVERTY AND THE GLOBAL ECONOMY

Detailed Timeline

1865 **Freedman's Bureau established:** Nation's first federal welfare agency; was a major source of welfare for African Americans in the South after the Civil War.

1866 **KKK founded in Pulaski, TN by ex-confederate officers**: Imposed violence and intimidation on African Americans and White allies.

1868 **Fourteenth Amendment:** All native-born people, except untaxed Native Americans, considered US Citizens; guaranteed all citizens regardless of race or previous servitude the right to enforce contracts, file lawsuits, testify in court, own property, and enjoy all benefits of law to which White citizens were entitled.

1870 **Hayes-Tilden Compromise**: Hayes declared president on the condition that Federal troops be withdrawn from the South; this represented the beginning of the defeat of Reconstruction and opened the door for Black Codes & Jim Crow constitutions.

1877 **Black Codes:** Prohibited African American people from bearing arms or testifying against Whites; African Americans were required to demonstrate proof of employment at all times - if they couldn't, they would be convicted of vagrancy and either imprisoned or enslaved.

Rioting ensues following unsuccessful attempts by the umemployed in many large cities to get public works programs and other forms of assistance.

1896 **Plessy V. Ferguson**: Overturned the fourteenth amendment & established the legal basis for "separate but equal"; Supreme Court ruling, "..... in the nature of things it (14th Amend.) could not have been intended to abolish distinctions based upon color, or to enforce social, as distinguished from political equality, or a commingling of the two races upon terms unsatisfactory to either."

Fifteenth Amendment undermined: Legal barriers to voting implemented - literacy qualification, the poll tax, the grandfather clause, and the white primary; states rights and Jim crow constitutions consolidated.

1909 **White House Conference on Children** favored family care over institutional care of dependent & delinquent children; contributed to development of adoption agencies.

1912 **U.S. Children's Bureau:** Research agency with duty of investigating and reporting upon the welfare of children among all classes of people.

1919 **Red Summer**: Mass destruction of property and lives of African American people by Whites in South.

1920 **Nineteenth Amendment**: White women (and a few northern African American women) given the right to vote.

1921 **Infancy & Maternity Act**: First statue to provide federal grant in aid, on a matching basis, to states promising to establish facilities & services (hospitals, clinics, public health nursing & education, etc) in accordance with specifications established by the Children's Bureau.

1932 **Compulsory Sterilization Laws** forcefully sterilized those defined as unfit.

1933 **Federal Emergency Relief Act**: Provided federal grants to states for relief; encouraged recipients of aid to be sterilized; primarily aided men, women constituted only 12% of those assisted.

1935 **Social Security Act/Aid to Dependent Children**: Offered cash assistance to retired and unemployed workers and to selected groups among the poor; provided maternal and child health care; aid denied to women living with men and those considered undeserving (divorced, separated, never married, women of color).

American Birth Control League - Negro Project: Black ministers encouraged 'voluntary' sterilization of Black women.

1949 **Agriculture Act** distributes commodities acquired through federal price supports to low-income families to reduce agricultural waste; level of program activity and type of items provided depended on the availability of surplus foods (not nutritional needs).

1954 **Brown vs. Board of Education** abolished "separate but equal" in public education.
Citizenship Schools: Originally developed by Highlander Center; used topic of citizens rights to teach literacy and raise consciousness among African Americans and Whites together in the South; 50,000 people in 11 southern states were reached.

1955 **Montgomery Bus Boycott:** This marked the beginning of the civil disobedience dimension of modern Civil Rights Movement.

Bandung Conference: Conference of "non-aligned" Asian and African states at Bandung, which formed the Non-Aligned Movement as a collective voice for the philosophy of anti-imperialism (Group of 77 and "North vs. South").

1962 **Public Welfare Amendments**: Increased federal funding for services from 50% to 75% - for worker training programs; AFDC-UP program - provided benefits to two parent families with an unemployed parent (*this was not enforced equally*); emphasized employment.

1963 **Economic Opportunity Act**: Emphasized education, manpower training and various social services that were supposed to enhance the productive ability of the needy and facilitate their transition from welfare to work.

1964 **Food Stamp Act:** Expanded purchasing power of needy and aided farmers and agribusiness.
Civil Rights Act: Prohibited racial, sexual, or ethnic discrimination in education and employment and established the EEOC to implement aspects of this law.

1965 **Voting Rights Act**: Outlawed literacy tests, brought federal registrars to troubled districts to ensure safe access to polls, and targeted many local registration procedures for federal administrative review.

1967 **National Welfare Rights Organization:** First national relief organization since the Depression; organized to force change in welfare policy by breaking the system through a dramatic increase in applications from the pool of potential recipients; organized for a Guaranteed Annual Income; disbanded in 1986.

Welfare Amendments: Restricted the number of children born out-of-wedlock on the AFDC rolls, strengthened potential for child removal, compelled AFDC mothers to work outside the home; imposed a freeze which allowed the federal government to deny matching funds to the states for any increase in AFDC children whose mothers were divorced, deserted, separated or unwed (continued unlimited funds for cases where a father died or became unemployed).

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1967 **Work Incentive Program (WIN)** required all employable AFDC recipients deemed "appropriate" by a welfare department to register for work, accept referrals for training/employment, and take any bonafide job offer; a woman could keep $30 and 1/3 of her remaining earnings before her grant was lowered.

Nixon Family Assistance Plan (FAP): Nixon responds to the demand of the National Welfare Rights Organization - for a Guaranteed Annual Income by proposing the FAP; under the FAP, aid would be provided only to families with children; every family of 4 would receive at least $1600; the FAP was never passed.

1981-2 **Omnibus Reconciliation Act:** Limited eligibility to families with a gross income of 150% of a state's need standard; required welfare departments to count previously excluded monies as income when determining eligibility and setting benefit levels; restricted AFDC to the last trimester of a first pregnancy; denied aid to families of strikers; encouraged states to reintroduce mandatory workfare and offered a wage subsidy to employers who hired AFDC recipients.

1987 **National Welfare Rights Union** formed by and for welfare recipients and former recipients.

1988 **Family Support Act:** Mandatory work program; replace WIN with JOBS (Job Opportunities & Basic Skills Program); JOBS - required women on welfare with children under age 3 to find work or enroll in a work or training program; state welfare agencies had to provide basic employment, education and training programs, one year of transitional child care and Medicaid payments, and enriched social services; women refusing to participate in work programs faced reduction or termination of benefits; demanded that women on welfare provide the state with more information to help locate the fathers of children receiving AFDC.

1989 **Savings & Loan (S&L) Bailouts:** Marker of modern corporate welfare; 24 S&Ls fail in 1989; Congress allocates $157 billion for the bailout in 1989; the total bill is estimated between $500 billion and $1.4 trillion.

1991 **Indian Health Services**: Women deceptively convinced to use Norplant - information that it could be dangerous to the health of women was not shared.

1991-2 **Norplant Bills and Policies** mandated the use of Norplant in women on public assistance (state laws); suggested making sterilization or Norplant use a prerequisite for AFDC and other public assistance eligibility.

1996 **Personal Responsibility & Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act** ended AFDC as an entitlement.
- replaces AFDC with Temporary Assistance to Needy Families (TANF);
- Food Stamps - will cut an average of $4 billion from the food stamp program each year over the next 6 years; 18-50 year olds required to seek work and /or join work training program and are limited to 3 months of food stamps in every 36 month period (some states have received waivers);
- work - every household head is required to work with 2 years or benefits are terminated; states that don't meet the goals for employment lose part of their welfare block grant;
- teens - states can decide if they want to provide unmarried teen mothers with welfare benefits or not, those who do receive benefits must stay in school and live with an adult;
- family cap - no increase in benefits to a woman who has additional children while already receiving welfare; states that experience a reduction in births to unmarried women will be awarded with additional grant money;
- "legal immigrants" - SSI and Food Stamps end for non-citizens (documented immigrants) now receiving benefits states can decide whether or not to provide Medicaid to documented immigrants already in this country; future immigrants who have not become citizens would be ineligible for most federal welfare benefits and social services during their first five years in the U.S.;
- SSI - stricter eligibility standards will exclude many disabled children in poor families; eliminated for future "legal" immigrants; and
- paternity - benefits reduced by 25% for non-compliance with child support enforcement.

1996 **Temporary Aid to Needy Families (TANF):** TANF replaces AFDC; states are given block grants and the authority to decide how much of their federal welfare funding will be devoted to cash assistance and how much to work-related services; caps state spending levels for six years at whatever the state spent for AFDC in 1994 or 1995 (whichever was the highest); no cash benefits for persons convicted of a drug-related crime; recipients may not receive assistance for more than five years during their entire lifetime, and most must be working within two years.

1996 **New Immigration Law:** New law makes it much easier for the U.S. to deport undocumented immigrants and bar them from re-entry; it also makes it more difficult for a family or individual to sponsor someone for "legal" immigration by raising the minimum income level for sponsors to 125% of the poverty level and making the sponsors legally responsible for the actions of their sponsoree; these changes are in addition to those which prevent immigrants from receiving public assistance benefits under TANF.

1996 **Istook Amendment:** No non-profit organization that spends more than 5% of its non-federal expenditures on political advocacy would be eligible for government funding.

1997 **Kensington Welfare Rights Union (KWRU) "March For Our Lives":** KWRU marches from Philadelphia's Liberty Bell to the United Nations in NYC to declare "welfare reform" a human rights violation according to the 1948 United Nations Declaration of Human Rights.

1997 **Clinton Claims Success:** Takes credit for reducing the number of welfare recipients from 14 million people in 1993 to 11 million in 1997.

1997 **Welfare Policy Implementation:** States scramble to implement new welfare policies; some states file for extensions for the implementation of the new food stamp policies and begin to question the viability of the new policies.

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Welfare Websites via the Internet.

List of Organizations

American Friends Service Committee
"Economic Justice Program"
1501 Cherry St. • Philadelphia, PA 19102
Ph 215-241-7136 Fax 215-241-7119

American Friends Service Committee
"Praxis Project"
59 E. Van Buren St. Suite #1400 • Chicago, IL 60605
Ph 312-427-2533 Fax 312-427-417
praxisafsc@igc.apc.org

Applied Research Center
1322 Webster St. Suite #402 • Oakland, CA 94612
Ph 510-465-9577

Center for Ethics and Economic Policy
2512 9th St. #3 • Berkeley, CA 94710
Ph 510-549-9931 Fax 510-549-9995
ethicsecon@aol.com

Center for Popular Economics
P.O. Box 785 • Amherst, MA 01004
Ph 413-545-0743 Fax 413-545-2921
cpe@acad.umass.edu

Environmental & Economic Justice Project
2826 S. Vermont Ave. Suite 11 • Los Angeles, CA 90007
Ph 213-730-4950 Fax 213-730-4957

Highlander Research and Education Center
1959 Highlander Way • New Market, TN 37820
Ph 423-933-3443 Fax 423-933-3424
hrec@igc.apc.org

Just Economics
2600 Bancroft Way, 2nd Floor • Berkeley, CA 94712
Ph 510-704-0844 Fax 510-704-0898
justecon@igc.apc.org

Southerners On New Ground
P.O. Box 3912 • Louisville, KY 40201
Ph 502-896-2070 Fax 502-896-0577

United for a Fair Economy
37 Temple Place, 5th Floor • Boston, MA 02111
Ph 617-423-2148 Fax 617-423-0191
stw@stw.org

Women of Color Resource Center
2288 Fulton St. #103 • Berkeley, CA 94704
Ph 510-848-9272 Fax 510-548-3474
chisme@igc.apc.org

This is a partial list of organizations that design and conduct popular economics education. Many of these organizations are also members of the Economic Literacy Action Network (ELAN). You can contact any of these organizations for additional resources.

Project South: Our Niche Among Popular Education and Research Organizations

WHO: WHO WE ARE – EDUCATING FOR OUR FUTURE

- Project South is a community-based membership institute that develops and conducts popular economic and political education, and action research for organizing and liberation.
- We organize and educate popular educators from grassroots and scholarly communities.
- Our education and research program deepens our understanding of the world, leads to a vision for our future and helps develop a winning strategy to transform our society.

WHAT: OUR POPULAR EDUCATION APPROACH

- Is historical – traces social processes to their origins.
- Is global – seeks to locate the U.S. experience and the realities of our communities within the global context.
- Is integrative – incorporates race-class-gender dynamics.
- Is holistic – connects economic development to politics and policy as they affect all of social life and culture – including issues of morality and spirituality.
- Is strategic – discusses the central role of the Southern US in national economic, political, social and cultural development.
- Is critical – critiques the capitalist system and its global corporate agenda for the continuing and deepening inequality and injustice in society, and the deteriorating quality of life of the vast majority of the world's peoples.
- Is transformative – envisions a world in which social justice, equality and human rights for all peoples are realizable.

HOW: OUR MODEL – BOTTOM-UP

- Grassroots and scholar activists come together as equals – mutually respecting and learning from the experience and knowledge of both communities.
- We are both at the table when the process begins and together we develop our popular education and research agenda.
- Our visions and strategies must solve the problems of those most adversely affected by the current crisis – and be connected to growing national, international, and global social movements.

Project South: Institute for the Elimination of Poverty and Genocide *is a community-based membership institute that develops popular political and economic education and action research for organizing and liberation.*

We organize and develop popular educators from grassroots and scholarly backgrounds, bringing them together on the basis of equality to join in the process of transforming our society.

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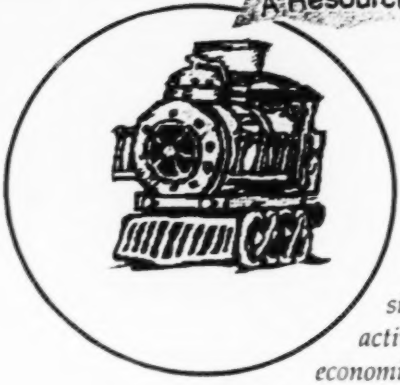
Popular Education for Movement Building:
A Resource Guide © 1998 Project South



"Popular Education for Movement Building is the best, single resource of its kind currently available to grassroots activists. It provides a detailed examination of the major economic, social and political forces which have undermined and compromised the lives and welfare of millions of brown, black, poor and working people. Written in a refreshingly clear style, the workbook will be a valuable tool for young activists as well as veterans of the movement."

Manning Marable, Professor of History
Director, Institute for Research in African-American Studies Columbia University

"An outstanding and excellent educational tool, this book really makes learning fun and easy."

Carolyn Pittman
Co-Chair, Georgia Human Rights Union

Unless ordinary people can gain information and understanding about their situation in the world, the only democracy possible is a democracy of ignorance. Project South has done us all a real service in publishing this insightful and very practical guide. It demonstrates innovative ways in which ordinary people can together come to understand their history and understand the critical decisions of our time which they could and should be part of making.

Pete MacDowell
Executive Director, Democracy South

"Popular Education for Movement Building is an immensely valuable tool for activists, loaded with useful information and brimming over with practical suggestions for how to bring about social change. I hope it will be widely read.

Howard Zinn

"Not often does an educational tool come along that is useful and relevant for diverse adult audiences. Project South's new resource guide is both! This is an important tool for those of us who are building stronger communities through education and action."

Ellen Gurzinsky
Executive Director, The Funding Exchange

Project South: Institute for the
Elimination of Poverty & Genocide
1998

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